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NUZHAT-AL-QULŪB

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G. LE STRANGE

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*ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,*

*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.*

نَلَّكَ أَثَارُنَا نَدْلٌ عَلَيْنَا \* فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْأَثَارِ

“*The worker pays his debt to Death;  
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth.*”

*The following memorial verse is contributed by ‘Abd’l-Haqq Hāmid Bey, formerly of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an intimate friend of the deceased.*

جمله یارانِ وفاسیله ایدرکن تطیب  
کندی عمرند، وفا گورمدی اول ذات ادیب  
گنج ایکن اولمش ایدی اوج کماله واصل  
به اولوردی یاشامش اولسه ایدی مستر گیب

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## PREFACE

The present translation, as noted in the preface to the Persian text of the *Nushat-al-Qulūb*, was made some years ago when collating the MSS for that volume, and is now published to complete the work. This sets out to give a description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the decadent days of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd the Īl-Khān, the great-grandson of Hūlāgū the conqueror of Baghdād ; but there is not, I fear, a very great amount of new information to be gained from the pages of Mustawfī's geographical epitome. Ḥamd-Allāh quotes largely from older authorities, and in most cases we possess the texts which he used. However, in many of his accounts of towns and descriptions of provinces he has added something of his own, from personal observation, to what he has translated not very accurately from the Arabic texts. As State Accountant (Mustawfī) for so many years in the service of the Īl-Khāns, the revenue-lists at his command have enabled him to add interesting details not found elsewhere, and in spite of plagiarism (acknowledged or ignored) from predecessors, his work gives a graphic picture of the Lands of Īrān in the latter days of the Īl-Khāns. And as remarked in the preface to the Text, his account of Rūm (Asia Minor) is unique, and of unknown origin.

Ḥamd-Allāh, as proved by many passages in his writings, was a convinced Shīʿah. In the present work he recalls with pride his descent from Ḥurr Riyāhī, who was the first to give his life for Ḥusayn, the Commander of the Faithful and grandson of the Prophet, being the proto-martyr at the Karbalā battle. But the Shīʿahs, in the time of Abū Saʿīd, do not appear to have been fanatics, and Ḥamd-Allāh's great-grandfather (whom he

quotes as to revenue details) had been State Accountant (Mus-tawfī of ʿIrāq) at Baghdād under one of the last Caliphs. In the matter of the Sunnī and Shīʿah population, it is interesting to observe in how many places in Persia the former sect was still in the preponderance as late as the middle period of the 14th century A.D.

In my translation proper names of persons have been shortened as much as possible, and the filiations have been omitted: the Fatimīd Caliph Al-Ḥākim bi-ʿamr-Allāh figures as Ḥākim, and ʿOmar ibn ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz stands as ʿOmar II. Pious formulas have often been suppressed. For a like reason, in quotation, the name of the author is generally given in preference to the title of his book. Yāqūt stands for the *Mu-ʿjam-al-Buldān*, and Qazvīnī for either the *ʿAjāib-al-Makhlūqāt*, the *Āthār-al-Bilād*, or the *Tuhfat-al-Gharāib*. Again, the references to page and volume of the texts has not in this translation been repeated from the foot-notes of the Persian text, to the pages of which the Arab figures in brackets, e.g. [۱۲], refer. In the long lists of villages (for example, round Qazvīn and in other places where Ḥamd-Allāh had himself been) the variants are often as numerous as the number of the MSS. consulted, and these variants must be sought in the notes to the Text. In the explanatory notes to the present volume, the reader will find references, as a rule, only to translations of Oriental works, and for the Arabic, Persian or Turkish originals he must turn to the foot-notes of the Persian volume.

In the Itineraries (Chapter XV) and occasionally elsewhere my friend the late General Sir A. H. Schindler, whose knowledge of Persian geography was unrivalled, had supplied me with a few notes, and these have been inserted under his initials [A. H. S.]. For the identification and situation of the towns and provinces described by Ḥamd-Allāh the reader may refer to the *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* or to *Palestine under the Moslems*; where, also, a short account will be found of the

various Oriental Geographers, whose names precede the innumerable quotations given by our author.

As was the case in printing the Text, my friend Professor E. G. Browne has come to my help, he has read the proofs, and in many places emended my translation. To him I owe a great debt of gratitude, and my work would have been far more faulty, lacking his aid, than it is, I fear, even now. 'Traduttore traditore' says the Italian proverb, and I agree. Nevertheless Professor Browne must not be held responsible for my translation as a whole; in rendering the Persian into English, when I considered my method of rendering Ḥamd-Allāh sufficiently adequate, the corrections suggested have often been neglected.

G. LE STRANGE.



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## CHAPTER I

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PART THE THIRD. Describing towns, provinces and lands; and the same is divided into four Books.

BOOK I. Describing the Two Noble Sanctuaries (Mecca and Medina), may God Almighty enoble them, and the Further Mosque (at Jerusalem). Although these places are not actually within the Kingdom of Īrān, and the main object of the author of this work is to describe the Lands of Īrān, yet in view of the fact that the aforesaid places are the most excellent lands in the whole world being the Qiblah (praying-point) \*of those who possess the Faith, it seemed in every way better to begin by writing a first and separate Book dealing with the description of the conditions of those lands, in order that this work might thus include the major part of all matters and be complete in what is reported therein.

Now these noble Sanctuaries are very often mentioned in the Qurān and in the Traditions, as for example where the Almighty says (Qurān, ch. XVII. v. 1) *Glory be to Him who carried his servant (Muhammad) by night from the Mosque of the Haram (of Mecca) to the Further Mosque (at Jerusalem) whose precinct We have blessed that We might show him of our signs, for He is the Hearer the Seer.* And in the *Maṣābīḥ*<sup>1</sup> it is reported as a Tradition of the Prophet that he said *The camels are (at all times) saddled to visit these three Mosques, namely the Mosque of the Haram (at Mecca), the Further Mosque (at Jerusalem), and this my Mosque (at Medina).*

Description of the Haram (Sanctuary)<sup>2</sup> of the Venerated Ka'bah, may Allah glorify its renown. The House of the Ka'bah is in the Haram Mosque, and that Mosque is in the

<sup>1</sup> A well-known collection of Traditions, entitled *Maṣābīḥ-as-Sunnah* by Baghawī, died in 516 (1122), was remodelled by Walī-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd, and called *Mishkāt-al-Maṣābīḥ*, 'The Niches for the Lamps,' of which a translation was published by Captain A. N. Matthews (2 vols., Calcutta, 1809).

<sup>2</sup> Written indifferently Ī Haram or Ĥarām.



city of Mecca, and that city is in the province of the Hijāz, which lies in the Second Clime. The longitude (of Mecca) is  $77^{\circ}$  from the Fortunate Isles<sup>1</sup>, and its latitude is  $21^{\circ} 40'$  from the Equator:—and (these figures being represented in the *Abjad* by the letters pronounced *ʿIzz* and *Kām* respectively) it is good and suitable that in both latitude and longitude this city should rank as Glory (*ʿIzz*) and Repose (*Kām*). The city lies in a valley, bounded on the east by Mount Abū Qubays and Mount Quʿayquʿān, of which two Abū Qubays [r] is the higher. To the west of the city lie the hill of Minā and Mount Thabīr, the latter a very high hill overhanging the quarters of Minā and Muzdalifah: further the Ram which formed the sacrifice of Ishmael was brought down from this mountain. To the north of Mecca lies Mount Ṣafā, and to the south Mount Marwah<sup>2</sup>.

Mecca is a great city, measuring more than 10,000 paces in a circuit, but within these limits there are ruins and waste places with many hillocks and mounds. In its honour numerous verses of the Qurān have been revealed, also Traditions; as for instance where the Almighty said (Qurān, ch. II. v. 120) *And then Abraham said, Lord make this a secure land* (for the reference is to this country of the Hijāz). Further there is the Tradition of the Prophet who said *Verily this land God Almighty did make it sacred on the day that He created the heavens and the earth, and it is a Haram (Sanctuary), by the sanctification of God Almighty, even to the Day of Resurrection*. Further the Prophet said as he stood overlooking Hazzawarah<sup>3</sup> *By Allah (O Mecca) thou art to my mind of the best of the earth*—or according to another version—*thou art the best beloved of God, be He exalted and glorified, and had I not been forced to leave thee, I had never gone forth from thee*. The lands of Mecca are not suitable for ploughing and sowing, even as God Himself has said (Qurān, ch. XIV. v. 40) referring to it as *an unfruitful valley nigh to thy Holy House*, and all provisions that they need have to be brought from neighbouring districts. Thus the district of Ṭāif, which is 8 leagues distant, is the chief granary of Mecca, which looks to Ṭāif for all supplies; and Ṭāif lies near the mountain of Ghazwān upon

<sup>1</sup> Literally: 'the Islands of Eternity': that is Hierro in the Canaries, the western meridian as established by Ptolemy, whose division of the habitable earth into Seven Climes—zones of latitude, going from south to north—has been adopted by the Moslem geographers, Mustawfi among the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Marwah and Ṣafā (mentioned twice further on) lie respectively north and east of the Haram Area, and the quarter of a mile street between the two is the Course which the Pilgrims have to run or walk. Mecca lies in a valley, north to south, with Mount Abū Qubays to the east and Quʿayquʿān to the west. Minā with Mount Thabīr overhanging it lies in the valley to the N.E. which leads to ʿArafāt.

For details and plans, with an account of the Pilgrim rites, see J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (1829); Sir R. F. Burton, *Pilgrimage*; and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague, 1888.

<sup>3</sup> Or Hazzarah, one of the market quarters of Mecca. Matthews, i. 660. In many MSS. this tradition is wrongly attributed to Husayn, the Prophet's grandson.

which snow and ice are found to remain (some part of the year), and on no other mountain in the Arabian peninsula is this the case. The climate of Tāif by reason of the neighbourhood of this mountain is excellent, and its fruits are abundant and of good flavour.

In the *Kitāb-~~al~~-Ma'ārif* Ibn Qutaybah, quoting Wahb ibn Munabbih, writes that when Adam was expelled from Paradise he fell down on the Island of Sarandib (Ceylon); and after one hundred years of humiliation and weeping his repentance was accepted. But his grief at being cut off from Paradise was so great that God Almighty in pity sent him down from Paradise a tabernacle, and this was brought and set up in the place where the Ka'bah now stands. It was in the form of a house, being of a single block of corundum with golden lamps. According to another account it is said that this tabernacle was the House of the Prototype, and Adam was commanded to go in pilgrimage thereto. Further Adam was made to take up his abode here, and according to one account it was at the time of the Flood, or according to another account at the time of Adam's death, that this tabernacle was carried up back into Heaven.

The descendants of Adam, by command of Seth, [r] in place thereof built a House of stone and clay, but this during the Flood was laid in ruins, and for about two thousand years it remained thus. Then Abraham, the Friend of God, by Hagar begot Ishmael, whereby Sarah came to show such jealousy, as forced him to send both Hagar and Ishmael away from the presence of Sarah, and Abraham by divine command took them both to this waste land and abandoned them. Afterwards Hagar, seeking water on the mountain side, ran backwards and forwards—even as now the pilgrims must run the Course (in remembrance of the same between Şafā and Marwah)—whereupon Ishmael fell to weeping and rubbing his heel on the ground, when, from under his heel the water of the well Zamzam came forth. Hagar, that the water might not come to waste, set a clod of earth before its flow to dam it back, and it is reported that had not Hagar thus restrained it, it would have become a river and a greater river than any in the whole world. It is further said that had the people of those parts not been misbelievers, this water had long before come to the surface, but by reason of their infidelity it continued to run underground, coming to form a well. The water having been thus discovered, the Jurhamites migrated hither, and Ishmael was brought up among them. When he had come to man's estate, by the command of the Almighty, Abraham and Ishmael together built the House of the Ka'bah of stone from Mount Qu'ayqu'ān.

This House was without a roof; and God sent down to them from Paradise the Black Stone, which was set in the corner of

the House, this same being a block measuring about half an ell across every way. At first this stone had been white, but by reason of the many times that the infidels did rub it with their unclean hands it became black, as is said in the Tradition of the Prophet, upon whom be peace<sup>1</sup>, *The Stone when it was sent down from Paradise was whiter even than milk, but the sins of the children of Adam have made it black*: and again he said speaking of this stone *Verily God will send it to announce the Day of Resurrection, and it will then have two eyes wherewith to see and a tongue wherewith to speak, and it will certify as to him who has kissed it*. And again he said *Verily the Black Stone will arise on the Day of the Resurrection, and it will have two eyes wherewith to look, and a tongue wherewith to talk, and it will give testimony as to whosoever hath kissed it*. *Verily it is a stone that floats upon water and it does not get hot with fire when this is kindled upon it*.

As soon as they had finished constructing the Ka'bah, and it had been commanded to make Visitation here, men began to settle round it and build fine houses, and thus emulating one another, the place gradually became a mighty city. The climate is very [1] warm, and for water at first there was none but what was given by the Well of Zamzam. The story of that Well is known, how it became choked up so that no man knew where it lay, and how 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet, saw its place in a dream and dug there, when he found certain golden antelopes and certain arms of war. Then the Quraysh contended with him for their possession, but by a divine decree they were given to him for his own. This Well lies on the east side of the Kc'bah, it is forty ells deep, and at its mouth the opening is eleven ells round. Over it they have built a dome, and they have set two square beams of teak wood on either side thereof, from each of which hang six pulleys for drawing up the water. The water is indeed brackish, but the people of Mecca always took their water from this well, till, in the time of the Abbasid Caliphs, the Lady Zubaydah wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd first dug underground watercourses in Mecca. After her time these fell to ruin, and so remained till the days of the Caliph Muqtadir, who restored them. But again they became choked till the Caliph Qāim once again caused the water to flow through them. Again in the time of the Caliph Nāṣir they fell to ruin, and he too restored these underground watercourses, but after the overthrow of the Caliphate they became entirely choked with sand. Lastly in the time of the Amīr Chūpān once more they were made to run with water, and this is their state in Mecca at the present time.

<sup>1</sup> For this and the following see Matthews, I. 620.

The people of Mecca, are for the most part dark-skinned; their occupation is commerce and they are mostly of the Hanafite sect.

Through the intercession of Abraham, the Friend of God, Mecca with its surrounding lands was made a Sanctuary (Ḥaram) by the command of the Almighty (and these are the limits of the same). First, on the Medina road the limit of the Ḥaram is at the third mile, or one league distant, and the Mīqāt<sup>1</sup> is at Dhū-l-Ḥulayfah, which last is eleven days' journey from Mecca. Secondly, on the Jiddah road the Sanctuary limit is ten miles out, which is three leagues and one mile distant, and the Mīqāt is at Sa<sup>c</sup>diyyah<sup>2</sup> 20 leagues from Mecca. Thirdly, on the road to Syria and Egypt the Ḥaram limit is two leagues distant and the Mīqāt is at Juḥfah which is 33 leagues from Mecca, the same being two miles from the sea coast. Fourthly, on the Yaman and Tihāmah road the Ḥaram limit is seven miles out, namely two leagues and a mile away, and the Mīqāt is at Yalamlam which is 27 leagues from Mecca. Fifthly, on the Najd road the Sanctuary limit is two leagues distant, and the Mīqāt is at Qarn(-al-Manāzil) [•] which is a day and a night march from Mecca. Sixthly, on the Ṭāif road the Haram limit is at 11 miles, which is three leagues and two miles distant, and the Mīqāt is at Rakhāṭir<sup>3</sup>—this lies 11 leagues from Mecca. Seventhly, on the eastern road that goes to ʿIrāq the Sanctuary limit is nine miles distant, namely three leagues, and the Mīqāt is at Dhāt-al-ʿIrq<sup>4</sup> which is 15 leagues and one mile from Mecca. The total circuit of the Sanctuary limits equals 37 miles which is 12 leagues and one mile, and to mark these limits boundary-stones are set up. Within the Sanctuary limits trees and planting are rarely met with, but outside the Ḥaram there are numerous gardens and orchards and cultivated lands, also running water is there found. The total circuit of the Mīqāts amounts to 733 miles which is 244 leagues and one mile.

The Ḥaram Mosque (at Mecca). This lies in the middle of the city, and its Court is the place where the pilgrims make their circumambulation. The House of the Kaʿbah is in the centre of this court, and all mosques in other countries that are built within their courts are so planned as to face towards the Ḥaram Mosque and the Kaʿbah. There are four gates to the Ḥaram Mosque, the Gate of the Banī Shaybah is towards ʿIrāq opening

<sup>1</sup> Al-Mīqāt, 'the Place of Meeting,' is the name given to the stations on the roads into Mecca where the pilgrims assume the Iḥrām or pilgrim dress, the wearing of which is part of the necessary ceremonies of the Pilgrimage. IḤulayfah or Dhū-l-Ḥulayfah is a village a couple of leagues to the south of Medina; see below chapter xv, the Itineraries.

<sup>2</sup> Not mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Not mentioned elsewhere, reading uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> See below chapter xv, the Itineraries.

northwards; and the Ṣafā Gate opens towards the west<sup>1</sup>. In the time of the Prophet, but five years before his mission was declared, the Quraysh rebuilt the Ka'bah, and they made its roof of the beams of wood which the Negus, who is the King of Abyssinia, had sent by sea to Syria for (roofing) the church of Antioch, but which were cast up at Jiddah, God Almighty having caused the ship to founder. By His dispensation the people of Mecca having taken them made the roof (of the Ka'bah) therefrom and set also four beams of the same under the roof. Then the Prophet, by God's command and by the assent of the Quraysh, with his own blessed hand set the Black Stone outside the Ka'bah in the 'Irāq Corner, and this on a level of somewhat less than a man's height, that it should be possible to place and rub the hand on it; and this corner lies towards the east<sup>2</sup>.

The Station of Abraham and the well Zamzam lie near by the angle of the Ka'bah which is turned towards the north and is known as the Syrian Corner, the angle towards the west being known as the Abyssinian Corner, while the angle towards the south is called the Yaman Corner. The House of the Ka'bah was given a Door of a single leaf, and they inlaid its face with silver, [١] obtained from the silver<sup>3</sup> antelopes that had been found in the well of Zamzam. In the days of 'Abd-Allah ibn Zubayr, after the Ka'bah walls had been thrown down by the catapults of the Omayyad Caliph (Yazīd, who had sent an army to besiege Mecca), the Ka'bah was again rebuilt by him; and he then planned the House to be higher and more spacious, giving it also two doors. The Black Stone he had set inside the Ka'bah in the wall, asserting that as the Prophet had said that the Black Stone was a part of the Ka'bah, it was proper that it should be within the Ka'bah. After (the death of Ibn Zubayr) Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, the Thakafite, destroyed what had just been rebuilt, placing the Black Stone once more outside in the Ka'bah wall, where the Prophet himself had set it, namely in the northern angle, which is called the 'Irāq Corner. Ḥajjāj also restored the House to its former state, and he gave it one door only. The length of the Ka'bah measures 24 ells and a span, with a width of 23 ells and a span. The total area covered by the building is 475 (square) ells, and the area of the inside chamber of the Ka'bah is 444 (square) ells. The height of the

<sup>1</sup> Read: east.

<sup>2</sup> Here, as is so often the case in descriptions of the Ka'bah, the orientation is confused. The four corners approximately mark the cardinal points. The Corner of the Black Stone lies east, and to the north is the 'Irāq Corner. In the wall between them is the Door; and over against this side of the Ka'bah are the well Zamzam and the Station of Abraham. To the west is the Syrian Corner, to the south the Yaman Corner, which may also be called the Abyssinian Corner, for this last cannot be the name of the Corner of the Black Stone.

<sup>3</sup> Said above to have been of gold.

building outside is 27 ells, and its roof was covered with tin plates, and the water-spout therefrom, which was on the right hand side, was made of silver. To the left of the Ka'bah lies the well of Zamzam<sup>1</sup>.

The first person who clothed the Ka'bah with its covering was the Tubba' of Yaman, Asad Abū Karib Himyarī, who was contemporary with King Bahrām Gūr the Sasanian, and with Kusay fifth in ascent of the forefathers of the Prophet. Referring to this a poet has said:

*We gave for a covering to the House, which God hath sanctified,  
An over-cloth that was embroudered and ornamented.*

They say that it is a peculiarity of this House of the Ka'bah that no bird can fly over it. The Caliph 'Othmān added to the Mosque a number of houses which the Caliph 'Omar had bought, giving it thus a larger area; and the Omayyad Caliph Walīd son of 'Abd-al-Malik erected in the Mosque many noble buildings, [v] bringing hither from Syria columns of stone, and the roof of the Mosque he constructed of beams of teak-wood. The Abbasid Caliph Manṣūr surnamed Abū Dawāniq ('Father of Pence,' for his avarice) enlarged both the Mosque and the Court, and in the year 166 (783) his son the Caliph Mahdī again added thereunto, giving it its present dimensions. These are, for the place of Circumambulation 370 ells by 315 ells, and the circuit of the Mosque outside is 1580 ells.

All round the Mosque stand hostelries and colleges, and the outer gates are very numerous. Among the rest here is the Hostelry which was built by the Ascetic Khumārtāsh 'Imādī of Qazvīn—on whom God have mercy—for the use of the Qazvīn Pilgrims. Further he bestowed 30,000 (gold) dīnārs on the governors of Mecca, for them to permit a latticed window to be made in the Hostelry that should look into the Mosque Court. The House in which the Prophet was born, and which is now known as the palace of Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, stands alongside the Mosque Court, and Khayzurān, the mother of the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, made it a Place of Assembly and added it to the Mosque. The Watering-place of the Pilgrims lies to the westward of the house of the Ka'bah in front of the Zamzam well, and the House of Convocation (Dār-ai-Nadwah) is also on this western side of the Mosque in front of the Governor's Palace (Dār-al-Imārat). The hill of Ṣafā stands to the eastward of the Mosque, with the Market street lying in between, and it is counted as part of the Abū Qubays Mountain. The hill of Marwah is to the west of the Mosque Court, and they say that

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum MS. Add. 7708 has the following note: 'As regards the Ka'bah now-a-days, this being the year 982 of the Hijrah (A.D. 1574), its roof is at present of stone of black and white colour, and the water-spout is made of pure gold; and the door of this venerable House is double-leafed and is plated with silver.'

Safā and Marwah were, respectively, the names of a man and a woman of the Days of Ignorance (before Islām) who had committed fornication in the Ka'bah. Then God Almighty turned them into stone, and the people of Mecca carried the man to the top of Mount Ṣafā, and the woman to the top of Mount Marwah, that all who saw them might take warning thereby; and thus these hills came by their name. But others say the names are merely the proper-names of the hills, and that the name of the man was Isāf and of the woman Nāhilah. In the Qurān the names of Ṣafā and Marwah frequently occur, as for instance (in chapter II. v. 153) where it is said *Verily Ṣafā and Marwah were among the monuments of God*; and in the Traditions of the Prophet it is reported that he said that the Beast of the Earth, whose appearance will be a sign of the imminence of the Day of Resurrection, will come from Mount Ṣafā.

The places called Mash'ar-al-Ḥarām and Ḥaṭīm lie between Ṣafā and Marwah, on the side of Mount Qu'ayqu'ān; and Minā is the valley [ا] that extends to the westward<sup>1</sup> of the Mosque area for a distance of about two miles. Jamrah is a steep pass in the further part of Minā, and the Masjid Khayf (Mosque of the Hill-skirt) stands to the west<sup>1</sup> of the Sanctuary area, in which same direction also lies 'Arafāt, but beyond the Sanctuary limits, seeing that from it to Mecca is a distance of three miles.

The Mosque of 'Aishah likewise is outside the Sanctuary, near by Upper Jamrah and Ḥudaybiyyah, which are over against the Sanctuary limits. Māzimayn is a valley between two hills and its further part is called Baṭn 'Uranah, and near here is the road of the Wall of the Banī 'Āmir, where the Pilgrims say the Prayer for midday and eventide. Near by is the spring named after 'Abd-Allah of the Banī 'Āmir son of Kurayz. Muzdalifah lies between Mecca and 'Arafāt, and here the Pilgrims say their evening prayers, also pray before sleep, and the morning prayer likewise. Baṭn Muḥassir is a valley lying between Minā and Muzdalifah; and Mount Ḥirā<sup>2</sup> stands above Mecca. The Prophet made a circumambulation about it, which caused the mountain itself to begin to move (in respectful imitation), but the Prophet cried 'Stand still, O Ḥirā' and it did so. Also at the time of the Miracle of the Dividing of the Moon this mountain appeared between the two halves of the moon. The piece of ground called Baṭḥā which is one league distant from Mecca is counted as belonging to it, and the Mount called Thawr Aṭḥal, wherein is the Cave of the Prophet, lies on the Medina-road<sup>3</sup>. Lastly Jiddah is the port of Mecca folk when they set out from that city to go by sea.

<sup>1</sup> Read: north-eastward.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as Jabal Nūr—the Hill of Light—lying to the west of the Minā valley.

<sup>3</sup> See Qurān, IX. 40.

Now as to the Prophets, verily Adam and his wife Eve—peace be on them both—lie buried on Mount Abū Qubays: and the Prophet Sālih has his tomb in the city of Mecca, where it stands near the House of Convocation (already mentioned) to the west of the Sanctuary. Ishmael and his mother Hagar—peace be on them both—lie buried in the Sanctuary of the Ka'bah. The two sons of the Prophet Muḥammad who were born to Khadijah, and died before the Flight, both lie buried in the cemetery of Mecca, which lies outside the city. Of the illustrious Companions (of the Prophet) many are buried here: the first of them being As'ad ibn Zurārah<sup>1</sup>, and the last of them being Abū Umāmah Bāhili, who died in the year 86 (705).

Among the learned and great saints buried here are Abū 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān of Nisā, fifth of the Masters of the true Tradition, also Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [a] Kattānī. The Carmathian chief Abū Sa'id of Jannābah—upon whom be the curse of God—during the reign of the Abbasid Caliph Muqtadir in the year 319 (931) carried war against Mecca during the season of the Pilgrimage, and he slew many Moslem folk, making a general slaughter so that the well Zamzam was choked with the bodies of the slain, and the area round the Ka'bah was filled with 3000 corpses. Then he carried off the Black Stone, putting it to vile purposes, and the well Zamzam he defiled with ordure. For twenty years the Black Stone remained in the hands of the Carmathians, till the year 339 (950) when at Kūfah it was sold for 30,000 (golden) dīnārs to the agents of the Caliph Muṭī'. That Caliph then sent it to Mecca, and had it replaced in the 'Irāq Corner of the Ka'bah, where till the present day it has rested in safety from all further evil; and may God Almighty preserve it so till the Day of Resurrection, safe from the wickedness of all abandoned, cast-off, and reprobate persons.

The distances from Mecca to the chief towns of the Land of Īrān will now be given in brief, but further details, as is needful, will be set forth later (in Book II, Division iii, Section 1) when describing the high-roads<sup>2</sup>.

From Mecca to Sultāniyyah the capital of the Kingdom of Īrān it is, by way of Baghdād, 388 leagues. Mecca to Tabriz, also a capital city, by way of Baghdād, it is 380 leagues. Mecca to Baghdād, also a capital city, by way of Najaf the Noble (Shrine of 'Alī), it is 260 leagues. (And the following are the distances from Mecca to various cities of Īrān): to Ray 305 leagues, to Ardabil 224 leagues, to Hamadān 277 leagues, to Kāshān 260 leagues, to Iṣfahān 301 leagues, to Samnān 229

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in the next chapter as buried in Medina.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. differ considerably in these lists of distances, and many only give the names leaving the numbers in blank. The present translation follows for the most part the Bombay Lithograph and the British Museum MS. Add. 7708. All the places named occur again in the later chapters, and their identification will there be given.



leagues, to Shūstar 231 leagues, to Qāyin 280 leagues, to Nayshāpūr 420 leagues, to Tiflis 501 leagues, to Balkh 507 leagues, to Marv 481 leagues, to Qum 294 leagues, to Sabzavār 402 leagues, to Yazd 304 leagues, to Qazvīn 370 leagues, to Shīrāz 207 leagues, to Nayrīz 309 leagues, to Hurmūz 204 leagues.

Now as to the distances from Mecca to other places of the habitable world, in the various directions of the four cardinal points of the compass, which same lie beyond the limits [1.] of the Land of Īrān, these distances are by astronomical estimate from latitude and longitude of the places, as the same are laid down in the various tables. In this estimate, which is but a theoretical computation, we have reckoned each degree as the equivalent of 25 leagues—following in this the authority of Ptolemy—and we have counted thus conjecturally, and by approximation, in order to bring into the reckoning the differences in the various roads which cross diverse latitudes.

The Eastern Quarter. The land of India, (namely) Dihlī, Qinnawj and Sūmnāth, distant 30°, and leagues 750. Zaytūn distant 34°, leagues 850. Khansāy, capital of Māchīn (South China), distant 52°, leagues 1300. Māchīn, capital of Šīn (China), distant 56°, leagues 1400. Khānbāligh (Pekin), capital of Khitāy, distant 46°, leagues 1150. Tiz and Makrān distant 20°, leagues 500. Daybul distant 20°, leagues 500. Qandahār and Kashmīr distant 35°, leagues 850. Transoxiana distant 30°, leagues 750. The country of Uighūr and Tangut distant 32°, leagues 750. The kingdom of Tibet distant 30°, leagues 700. The kingdom of Khwārazm distant 36°, leagues 650. Saqsīn and Bulghār distant 32°, leagues 750. Šaghāniyān distant 29°, leagues 725. Kaymāk distant 32°, leagues 800. Farkhār distant 27°, leagues 675. Kābul distant 21°, leagues 525. Qirghīz and Salangā distant 26°, leagues 650. The lands of Yājūj and Mājūj distant 62°, leagues 1550.

Western Quarter. Pilgrims (to Mecca) from this quarter of necessity pass through Medina, and hence we shall make our estimate of distances to that city; and from Medina to Mecca it is (in addition) 87 leagues. From Cairo to Medina it is 150 leagues; and from Alexandria to the same 210 leagues. From Damascus the capital of [11] Syria it is 120 leagues. The land of Abyssinia is distant 12°, leagues 300. The land of Maghrib, where lives ‘Abd-al-Mu’mīn (the Almohad), distant 30°, leagues 750. Cordova, which is the capital of Spain, distant 48°, leagues 1200. Qayruwān distant 34°, leagues 850. The Berber country distant 12°, leagues 850.

The Northern Quarter. By way of Baghdād, to the Qipchāq Desert, 450 leagues, the Alān and Chirkaš (Circassia) country 350 leagues, Ās and Rūs (country of Russians and Ossetes) 400 leagues, the Frank country 500 leagues, Yūnān (Greece)

200 leagues, Saqlāb (Sclavonia) 350 leagues, Badriyah, Sanūriyah and Baland (cities of the North) 450 leagues.

The Southern Quarter. Pilgrims from these parts reach Mecca first and then go on to Medina, the distances therefore are counted as to Mecca. Tāif 8 leagues, Ṣanʿā of Yaman 140 leagues, the Tihāmāh district 148 leagues, Aden 120 leagues, <sup>c</sup>Omān 140 leagues, Sarandīb (Island of Ceylon) 300 leagues.

In regard to other countries, which for the avoidance of prolixity are not mentioned here (in detail), verily the distances from these to Mecca may be estimated in accordance with their propinquity, severally, to the diverse lands already given (in the above lists) and thus a total in leagues will be obtained. But exact knowledge in all these matters lies with God alone.

## CHAPTER II

Medina, anciently Yathrib. Position. The Ditch and Wall. Fertility of its lands. Traditions; and Verses. The Governors of Medina. The Tomb of the Prophet. The Mosque and Colleges. Attempt to carry off bodies of Abū Bakr and 'Omar. The Musallā. The Cemetery of Baqī<sup>c</sup> and those buried there. Villages and towns round Medina. Hijr and the Thamūd. Khaybar and Fadak. The Tih, or Desert of the Wanderings. Jerusalem, the Aqsā Mosque. Position. Story of Isaac, and the promise of God to him. The building of Jerusalem and the Mosque. David and Solomon. Destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Rebuilding in days of Ezra. Cyrus the Persian. Days of Islam: 'Omar restores the Qiblah. Frank conquest: restoration under Saladin. The Rock. Hebron and Nazareth.

The Sanctuary of the Noble Tomb (of the Prophet, at Medina)—may God ever sanctify it. The Garden (which is the grave) of the Prophet—the blessing of God be upon him and his family—is in the city of Medina, and that city originally was named Yathrib; but the Prophet changed its name to Medina (meaning 'the City') as he (in the Tradition) testified saying *Verily God called the City (Medina) Ṭābah (the good city)*. It stands in the Second Clime, its longitude from the Fortunate Isles being 65° 20', and its latitude north of the equator 25°. Some say that this land is of the Tihāmah province, but in the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm*<sup>1</sup> it is stated that the Tihāmah is of the kingdom of Yaman, and that both Medina and Mecca are of the Ḥijāz province. Medina stands at the foot of Mount Uhud. On the eastern<sup>2</sup> side of the town is the 'Aqīq river-bed a league and a half distant, in the direction by which the road from Mecca comes up. On the western side lies Mount Sal<sup>c</sup>, [۱۲] while on its northern side is Mount Uhud, this last being two leagues distant and there are no hills nearer than this to Medina. During the War of the Confederates (when the people of Mecca laid siege to Medina) the Prophet, under the advice of Salmān the Persian, caused a ditch to be dug round the city, which same ditch was twenty yards deep; and (at a later date) 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah Fanā Khusraw, the Daylamite prince, built a wall round Medina.

Medina is but a small town, being less than half the size of Mecca, its lands however are far more fruitful, and the climate is very warm. There are running streams here, and it possesses

<sup>1</sup> *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm*, 'The Pictures of Climes,' an Arabic Geography otherwise known as the *Ashkāl-al-Bilād*, 'The Likeness of Lands,' composed in A. H. 320 by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. It was on this work that Iṣṭakhri based his Geography, but Abū Zayd's original Arabic text has unfortunately not come down to us.

<sup>2</sup> Read: south-western.

cultivated fields and gardens and date groves, also the dates of the kind called *Bardī* and *Ajwah* are better here than in any other country. The inhabitants are for the most part dark-skinned, and the men have their occupation in commerce.

In honour of Medina many Traditions have been recorded. Among the rest in the *Masābīh* it is reported that the Prophet said *Verily Abraham sanctified Mecca and made it a Sanctuary, but I have sanctified Medina making a Sanctuary all that lies between (the limits of) its calcined rocks. It is incumbent that no blood shall be shed there, and none shall wear weapons of war, and no place shall be enclosed there, except indeed for forage*<sup>1</sup>. Further the Prophet said *At the gates of Medina are angels, so that the plague cannot enter the city, nor Ad-Dajjāl (Antichrist): and again he said He who can compass to die in Medina, let him die there, for verily I will intercede for any who shall die there. And again he said The last place of the places of Islām to come to ruin will be Medina.* Fadl son of ʿAbbās—may God receive them both<sup>2</sup>—wrote this line in reference to Medina:

*(But weep) for Ṭaybah (a surname of Medina) which God  
did bless,  
By reason (of the coming) of the Seal in the Prophets.*

Also Ṣīrmah the Anṣārī wrote:

*And when (the Prophet) came to us God made manifest his  
religion,  
And forthwith he became in Ṭaybah (Medina) happy and  
content.*

Before the arrival of the Prophet in Medina the city was ruled by governors placed here by the Warden of the Desert, or by the Princes of Yaman: and for the most part the governor was a man either of the Banī Qurayzah or of the Banī Naḍīr; and one of the Anṣārī wrote the following lines:

*We shall still pay (for Medina) the tax, even after the tribute  
that is paid to Chosroes,  
And the tribute to the tribes of Qurayzah and Naḍīr. [۱۳]*

Among the peculiarities of Medina is this, that he who goes to and fro therein, his sweat is even as a perfumed odour.

The Noble Garden (Rawḍah-i-Sharīfah) which is the resting place of the Prophet—upon whom be peace—lies, as is well known, in this city, namely in the house of ʿĀishah, where his death took place. The shrine at the present time is included in

<sup>1</sup> Matthews, i. 662.

<sup>2</sup> The name should be Al ʿAbbās ibn al Faḍl the Alid, and not Faḍl son of the Prophet's uncle ʿAbbās, as Mustawfī gives it.

the circuit of the Mosque, and lies to the left of the Qiblah (Niche), in the angle to the north-east<sup>1</sup>, for the Qiblah point in Medina is directed towards the south-east<sup>2</sup>. The Caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿOmar are also buried in the same spot. At the date when the Prophet first came to Medina, at the time of his Flight, this spot was unoccupied ground, and the Prophet having bought it built here a Mosque and a house for himself, using burnt bricks and palm beams. This building was enlarged by ʿOmar, and ʿOthmān again increased it greatly in area, giving it walls of cut stone, and the roof he made of teak wood. The Caliph Walīd son of ʿAbd-al-Malik further extended the size of these buildings, and the Abbasid Caliph Maḥdī made them more spacious still, as also did Maʾmūn in his turn, and as he left them so they now remain. The length of the Mosque is 14 ells and its breadth is 12 ells<sup>3</sup>. All round stand many Colleges and Hostelries, also numberless fine buildings. Among the rest is a college and bath erected in the present time by the Amīr Chūpān<sup>4</sup>, for formerly there had been no bath-house in Medina. All round the Mosque lie the houses of the inhabitants, and these are very numerous. In praise of this Mosque it is reported in the *Maṣābīḥ* that the Prophet said *What lies between my house and my pulpit is a garden of the gardens of Paradise, and there is a pulpit beside a tank*.

In the book called *Istishār-al-Akḥbār* written by the Qādī Aḥmad of Dāmghān, and in the *Majmāʿ-Arbāb-al-Maslik*<sup>5</sup> by Qādī Rukn-ad-Dīn Juvaynī it is reported that Ḥākim, who was the sixth of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, seduced one of the Alids, who were living at Medina, and persuaded him to dig by night a tunnel from his house to a place below the Tomb of the Prophet. Now this was done in order that the bodies of the Caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿOmar [۱۳] might be carried away from this holy Tomb, and then that they might do (any evil thing) with them, as they thought fit. But in the days when this work was going on, a whirlwind with thunderbolts and a mighty darkness fell on Medina, whereby people repenting of their sins were much afeared, and fled for succour to the Sanctuary of the Prophet. But the condition of terror did not cease until that certain Alid had (in great alarm) made a confession of his story, whereupon the governor of Medina seized on those who were digging the tunnel and brought them to justice. Then on that same day, the storm abated. All this happened in the year 411 (1020), and verily it

<sup>1</sup> Read: south-east.

<sup>2</sup> Read: due south.

<sup>3</sup> Something apparently has been omitted here in the MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Amīr Chūpān, whose name comes more than once in the following pages, was a favourite general of Ghāzān Khān and Uljaytū. He became regent during the minority of Abū Saʿīd, whose sister he married. He died in 727 (1327).

<sup>5</sup> Given as *Mulḳ* and *Mamālik* by various authorities: see *Guzidah*, text, p. 8.

was a miracle divinely vouchsafed in favour of Abū Bakr and ʿOmar near four centuries after their deaths; further the Caliph Hākīm did not survive the completion of the year in which this attempt had been made.

The Muṣallā (Praying Station) of the Prophet where, on festivals and great days, he was wont to preach the sermon, lies on the west side of Medina, and within the city limits. The Cemetery of Medina, called Baqīʿ, lies to the westward of the town, and here is seen the grave of Ibrāhīm the Prophet's (only) son, also the graves of his daughters. The Caliph ʿOthmān also was buried here, and the Commander of the Faithful Ḥasan, and ʿAbbās uncle of the Prophet, also the Imāms Zayn-al-ʿĀbidīn and Muḥammad Bāqir, and Jaʿfar Ṣādiq—the blessing of God be upon them one and all. The greater number of the glorious Companions of the Prophet—may God accept them—lie at rest here: as for instance Asʿad ibn Zurārah<sup>1</sup>, who was the first of them to die, his death taking place in the very year of the Flight, when the Prophet came to Medina. Here also lies Sahl ibn Saʿd Sāʿidī the last of the Companions to die, he having passed away in the year 91 (710). Further of the Followers of the Companions many too lie here sepulchred, as likewise of the celebrated Imāms and learned men, such as the Imām Mālik ibn Anas al-Aṣbaḥī, and Nāfiʿ the first of the Seven Readers of the Qurān; while the tombs of the Caliph ʿOthmān and of Mālik lie between the Baqīʿ Cemetery and the Jewish graveyard, which last is the House of Perdition.

The well called Arīs, where the Caliph ʿOthmān dropped the ring of the Prophet from off his finger, and there lost it, lies near the palmgrove of Qubā which is two miles from Medina towards the Qiblah point (south), and at Qubā are seen a number of the houses of the Anṣārs forming as might be a village apart. All round Medina there are many important villages that are as large as country towns, and these are famous, though most are now in ruins. Thus there is Khaybar lying 27 leagues from Medina, which is a very large village with seven castles belonging to it, and near one of these was the house of Ziyād<sup>2</sup>. Then there are the villages of Wādī-al-Qurā two leagues distant, and these occupy ground more spacious than [10] Ṭāif (near Mecca). The village of Hījr is of the dependencies of Wādī-al-Qurā, being one day's march distant therefrom. This was the abode of the people of Thamūd: of whom God Almighty has said in the Qurān (ch. LXXXIX. v. 8) *Also Thamūd who hewed out the rocks in the valley*; for here in the mountain side they dug out caves for habitations, as farther He has said (Qurān, ch. XXVI. v. 149) *And, insolent that ye are, will ye hew out your dwellings in the*

<sup>1</sup> But see above, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Namely Ziyād ibn Abihi; or translate: and near by are many houses.

mountains? In this place was the well where the dispute took place between the (men of Thamūd) concerning the she-camel of the prophet Šālīh, and whether or not she should be allowed to get to the watering-place, even as God Almighty, referring to the matter (in the Qurān, ch. XXVI. v. 155), has said *For her (the she-camel) drink shall there be, and drink shall there be for you, on a several day for each.*

Further there is the fort of Yanbu<sup>c</sup> which was given in mortmain to the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī, and his sons after him, to hold for their use. Also the village of Fadak, which when the Prophet came into possession of the same by conquest, was decreed to be of his own private property; hence after his death the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī, and (the Prophet’s daughter) Fāṭimah, sought to take Fadak for their possession by right of heritage, but ‘Omar forbade them to hold or take the same to their own use, asserting that prophets had no heirs, even as Muḥammad had himself affirmed when he said, as the Tradition reported, *We of the company of Prophets, none is our heir, and the inheritance that we leave shall be for alms.*

Then there is the village of Samīrah 30 leagues distant from Medina, with the Castle of Fayd in the Ṭayy country, of which ‘Āishah asserted that the Prophet had assigned it to her for her dowry, and which the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī was never able to get into his possession (in spite of his being by right heir of the Prophet). Lastly there are the following<sup>1</sup> together with many others which are villages near Medina: ‘Arabīyyah, Waḥidah, Namirah, Ḥaḍīqah, ‘Āḍī, Khaḍīrah, Sāīrah, Raḥbah, Sayālah, Sāyah, Ruhāṭ, Ghurāb, Akḥal and Ḥamiyah.

The village of Jār is the port of the people of Medina, and it lies three marches distant from the city. The Mountain of Raḍwā, from which their millstones are brought, is also three marches distant from Medina on the high-road towards the Banī Ṭayy country. The village of Abwā, where the mother of the Prophet lies buried, stands on the Mecca road at a distance of 44 leagues from Medina; and two leagues further in the direction of Mecca is the halting-place of Juḥfah which (as already said) is the Mīqāt (where the Pilgrims don the Pilgrim dress). The Tih (which is the Desert of the Wanderings) of Moses—peace be on him—lies along the road into Syria and Egypt from Medina. This according to the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* is a country measuring 40 leagues square, but other authorities give its dimensions as less than this.

[١١] The Farther Mosque (Masjid-i-Aqṣā). This Mosque stands in the city of Jerusalem, which city the Arabs call Bayt-al-Muqaddas (the Holy House) and the Jews Ælia; being of

<sup>1</sup> Most of these places will be found in the Map and mentioned in the text of the article by F. Wustenfeld, ‘Das Gebiet von Medina,’ *Abh. der K. Gesell. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, vol. XVIII. 1873.

the province of Syria, and of the country of Palestine lying in the Third Clime. Its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is  $56^{\circ} 30'$ , and its latitude north of the equator is  $31^{\circ} 50'$ . It stands on a height and from all sides you have to go up to it. In the *Kitāb-al-Ma'ārif*, Ibn Qutaybah, quoting the words of Wahb ibn Munabbih, relates how it came to pass that Isaac commanded his son Jacob that he should take to wife the daughters of his uncle Laban the son of Nahor. Jacob therefore set out purposing to go to the house of his uncle, and he rested on the way at the stage which was Jerusalem. In the night he saw in his sleep a door open in the heavens above him, with warders there beside, and angels descending therefrom and ascending thereto. Then God Almighty made a revelation to him and spoke saying *Verily I am the Lord, there is no God but me, I who am thy God and the God of thy fathers. Verily this Blessed Land thou shalt inherit, and thy children after thee, for I have blessed thee and them also, and I have given thee the Book and Wisdom and Prophecy, for I am with thee, and I will guard thee; until I have brought thee back to this same place, which I have established as a House, in which thou and thy children shall worship me, and that same is Bayt-al-Muqaddas (the Holy House)*. For this reason the place was named Quds (Holy), and Jacob, after his marriage in the land of Canaan, came and settled here, for Canaan is but three leagues distant therefrom.

The Children of Israel after his days built in this spot the city of Jerusalem, and this was made their capital. When the time came to the days of David, God Almighty gave him the vicerency, even as is said in the words of the Qurān (ch. XXXVIII. v. 25) *O David verily we have made thee our vicerent upon earth; judge therefore between men with truth*. He therefore had his abode in Bayt-al-Muqaddas (which is Jerusalem), and laid the foundations of the Aqṣā Mosque, which same after his day his son Solomon brought to completion. It is commonly said that, from the date of its completion to this present day (in A.H. 730 which is A.D. 1330) 2583 years have passed. Further they relate that Solomon on a certain day went to view the building of the Mosque, and there as he was leaning on his staff Azrail (the Angel of Death) by command of the Lord Almighty took possession of his soul. So (being dead) he stood there, quite still, leaning on his staff while a whole year passed, and the building of the walls of the Mosque reached completion. Meanwhile an ant [۱۷] had eaten through the wood of the staff, which forthwith broke, so that he fell down, and the news of his death was spread abroad.

In a later day Nebuchadnezzar, in wrath against the prophet John (the Baptist)<sup>1</sup> laid the city of Jerusalem in ruins, laying waste

<sup>1</sup> In point of fact scarcely contemporaries.



that Mosque also. Then it came about that the prophet Ezra passed by that place and found it all a ruin, and the matter lay heavy on his heart. Therefore he cried aloud, saying, 'O God, thou who art all mighty, do Thou quickly restore to habitableness this Mosque and City.' Then God Almighty gave command (concerning Ezra) that his soul should be taken from him, and that he should sleep for one hundred years, until the time when there should arise a king of the Kings of the Persians, whom the Israelites call Kūshak (Cyrus), and the Persians name Gūdarz the Ashghāniyān, and he it was who brought the city back to its former state of habitation. Then Ezra came back to life again, and became the guide (of the Children of Israel) to show them the way to revive the religion of Moses. Now the Tawrāt (the Books of the Law), which the Prophet Isaiah had written, and had hidden under the foot of one of the columns of the Mosque at Jerusalem, no one knowing which of the columns it was, this same being now discovered they were brought forth, thus giving testimony as to the truth of the religion of Ezra. So the Children of Israel accepted in all points his teaching, and they made all progress in the ceremonies of their religion, and in the perfecting of the building of that Mosque.

Then afterwards in the days of Islam, the Caliph 'Omar restored the Qiblah of this Mosque to its true direction, and its Mihrāb (Niche) was made to face the Ka'bah as of right. In later times the Omayyad and the Abbasid Caliphs, and the Sultans who governed in turn this land, elaborated and added greatly to these buildings, till (Jerusalem) became a paragon beyond all compare and reached such perfection that, according to the histories of Syria and Maghrib, except for the Two Sacred Cities, there was no building greater than (the Aqṣā Mosque) in this quarter of the habitable world. But in the year 490 of the Hijrah (A.D. 1097) the Franks wrenched this kingdom from the grasp of the Moslems, and they laid in ruin the Oratories of Islam, which same remained thus ravaged during ninety and five years, until in the year 585 (1189) the Ayyubid (Sultan Saladin) by the grace of God brought the land back into the path of Islam, and re-established the customs of the Moslems. Then over the gate of (the Aqṣā Mosque) they wrote (the words from the Qurān, ch. XXI. v. 105) where God Almighty says *And now, since the Law was given, have we written in the Psalms that my servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth.*

Also in this Mosque is the Rock from which the Prophet, on the Night of his Journey into Heaven, made his ascent. Now this same stone, to conform itself to the convenience of the Prophet, raised one side of itself up to a height of ten ells from [۱۸] the ground; and when the Prophet commanded it to stay still, it halted, remaining thus half rising up, where to this day it may be

seen, and it is a holy place of visitation that is held in much veneration. Further of all the famous prophets who ever were here (in Jerusalem), there is for each one an oratory, but the oratory of David is the most venerated of them all, both by reason of its fine building, and by reason of its superior sanctity.

Ibn Khurdādbih records that the Station of Abraham, the Friend of God (at Hebron), lies at a distance of thirteen miles, which amounts to four leagues and a mile, from the Aqṣā Mosque, and at the present day this is a small town the circuit of which measures 3000 paces. Further in the book of the *Ṣurwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that two leagues<sup>1</sup> from Jerusalem lies a village which is called Nazareth the Illustrious (or of Galilee), which same is the birthplace of Jesus, and it is for this cause that the Christians go by the name of the Nazarenes, but God alone is all knowing in these matters.

<sup>1</sup> This is the distance from Jerusalem of Bethlehem with which Nazareth is here confused.

## CHAPTER III

Divisions of the Habitable World, according to Hermes Trismegistus, and according to the Persians, the Arabs, the Greeks and the Indians. Latitude and Longitude of the Limits of Īrān : length and breadth of that Country. Explanation of the Map of Īrān. The Frontiers of Īrān, countries to the east, west, north and south. The Qiblah-point : side of the Ka'bah faced from Īrān. General direction of the Qiblah in diverse provinces of Īrān. Exact direction found by the Indian Dial. Construction of the same. Directions for its use. Table drawn up by 'Abd-ar-Rahmān Khāzinī to find the exact Qiblah-point. Explanation of Table. Directions for its use. Example : the direction of the Qiblah at Qazvīn

BOOK II. Describing the state of the Land of Īrān, the same being composed in three Divisions.

DIVISION I. Description of Īrān as one among the kingdoms of the earth, with an explanation of its latitudes and longitudes and a notice of its frontiers, and of the direction of the Qiblah-point in its various provinces.

Now as to the division thereof, and of what portion of the habitable earth Īrān is accounted to be a part, on this point statements differ. And the Persians cite Hermes Trismegistus, of whom they say that he was endowed with triple wisdom, or with triple gifts, because he was at the same time a sage, and a prophet and a king, he being otherwise known as the prophet Idrīs; and he divided the earth into seven regions in the form of seven circles, one in the centre and six separately surrounding it. Of these the first, to the south, is the region of the Hindus: the second comprises the Arabians, with Yaman and Abyssinia: the third is that of Syria and Egypt and Maghrib; the fourth, which same is the middle region, is that of the land of Īrān; the fifth is the region of the Greeks, Franks and Slavonians; the sixth has the Turks and Khazars, while the seventh is the region of China and Cathay, Khotan and Tibet. Another account is that subsequently, when King Farīdūn divided his kingdom among his three sons, he made the division in the breadth and into three parts, giving the eastern part to Tūr, and the western part to Salm, and the central part, which was the best and the place of his own abode, this he gave to his youngest son [۱۹] Īraj. This portion, therefore, was called Īrān after Īraj, and one of the Arab poets has referred to this division in his verses when he says:

*In our lifetime we divided up our Kingdom,  
Even as meat is cut up on the top of the block;*

*We have given Syria, ana Greece  
 As far as the setting sun, to Salm the chief;  
 And to Tūr we have given the Turks;  
 While his cousin hath possession of the Land of China;  
 And on Īrān by force we have imposed  
 The Knight of the Kingdom and so have we attained content.*

Now as is well known Salm and Tūr—because Īraj had the better part given to him—slew him, and strife thus brought into the affairs of these kingdoms remained. Others again assert that Īrān was called after Gayūmarth whose real name was Īrān, and others say it was called after Hūshang who likewise was known as Īrān. The more credible account, however, is that it was called after Īraj the son of Farīdūn.

Now the Arabs report that the prophet Noah divided the habitable world in the greater length into three parts. The southern part he gave to Ham, which same is the land of the blacks; the northern part he gave to Japhet, this being the land of those with the white and reddish skins; and the middle part he gave to Shem, and these are the lands of those who are brown-skinned: and Īrān is one among these. On the other hand the Greeks assert that their ancient sages held that the habitable earth was to be divided in the breadth, starting from Egypt, and into two parts. The eastern half they called Asia; and the western half was again divided into two by the Mediterranean sea. To the south of this sea was the quarter of the original race of men, and this was called Libya, and was the country of the blacks; while to the north of the Mediterranean was the second quarter called Europe, which was inhabited by those with white and red skins. Further, that half of the world called Asia they again halved by a line going from the north-east down to half-way along the southern side. The middle portion (between Asia and Europe, and to the west of this line) was the smaller half, and it was named Asia Minor, and it comprised the Land of Īrān and the Hījāz, also the Yaman and Khazar Countries; while the outer (eastern) portion was the larger half, and this was called Asia Major, which same comprised Cathay and Khotan, great and little China, Ind and Sind, with all their coasts.

Lastly, the Indian Sages divide the habitable world in squares, these laid out three by three. Of these they name the southern square *Dakshin*, which is the land of the Arabians: [१०] the northern square they call *Ūtar*, and this belongs to the Turks: the eastern square is that named *Būrb*, which same is that of great and little China; while the western square is named *Basjim*, which belongs to the people of Egypt and Berber. To the south-east is *Agnī*, which is of the Hindus; while to the north-east is

*Aysan*, which is the land of Cathal<sup>y</sup> and Khq<sup>an</sup>: to the north-west is *Bāyab*, which is the country of the Greeks and Franks; while to the south-west is *Nayrit*, which is the country of the Copts and Berbers, also Ifrīqiyah (North Africa) and Spain. Finally the central square is called Madwaysh, meaning Middle Kingdom, and this belongs to the Iranians, being the central portion of the habitable earth, also possessing the best of its lands and quarters and cities and districts<sup>1</sup>.

Latitude and Longitude. As has been shown above, the Land of Īrān is situated in the central part of the habitable world, but more on the western quarter, so that in longitude most of it lies west of the central meridian (in longitude 90°), while the lesser part falls beyond and to the east of this central line. As regards latitude most of the lands of Īrān are of the Third and Fourth Climes, some few lying in the Second and Fifth Climes. The specification may thus be given: Īrān starts from Qūniyah (Iconium) in Asia Minor, in longitude 56° 30', and ends at Balkh on the Oxus in longitude 91°, and the difference between these two longitudes, which same represents the length in longitude of the Lands of Īrān, is 34° 30', as shown by the Astrolabe. This, according to the evaluation of Ptolemy, is equivalent to 856 leagues; but by compute of mensuration it is 761 leagues and a ninth; according, however, to what Abū Rayḥān (Al-Bīrūnī) gives by (road) estimate it is 647 leagues, it being 346 leagues from Balkh on the Oxus to Sultāniyyah, and 301 leagues from Sultāniyyah to Qūniyah (Iconium) in Asia Minor.

In latitude the lands of Īrān extend from ʿAbbādān near Baṣrah, which stands in latitude 29° 20', up to Bāb-al-Abwāb which lies in latitude 45°, and the difference between these two is the extent in latitude of the lands of Īrān, namely 15° 40', by the Astrolabe. This, according to the evaluation of Ptolemy, is equivalent to 358 leagues; but by compute of mensuration it is 318 leagues and four-ninths with two-thirds of a ninth; according, however, to what Abū [r] Rayḥān gives by (road) estimate it is 271 leagues, for by sum of mensuration along the high-roads it is 160 leagues from ʿAbbādān to Sultāniyyah, and from thence to Bāb-al-Abwāb, at the Iron Gates, it is 111 leagues. Lastly, the whole area of Īrān, according to the latitudes and longitudes as given by the mensuration of the Astrolabe, is 440 (square degrees). These therefore are the outer limits as regards the latitude and longitude of the Lands of Īrān, though of course the Lands of Īrān do not all exactly come within the limits of the square formed by the terminal straight lines of the latitudes and longitudes

<sup>1</sup> These names, as I am informed by Professor A. A. Macdonell, stand for the following Sanscrit terms: *Dakṣiṇā* (South), *Uttarā* (North), *Pūrṇā* (East), *Paçchimā* (West), *Agneyī* (S.E.), *Aiçānī* (N.E.), *Vāyavī* (N.W.), *Nairṛitī* (S.W.), *Madhyadeça* (Middle lands).

aforesaid, and there is much difference (of position and overlapping along the frontiers).

In the description of the habitable world the positions of places are all reckoned from the equator, this being the topmost line<sup>1</sup>, and (in the map of Īrān, therefore) whatsoever has been set down is after this wise from the tables (of latitudes and longitudes) of places that are commonly agreed to as being (towns) of importance. Now in the habitable world though the furthest longitude is at 180° and the highest latitude is 90°, yet the Seven Climes only begin in longitude 160°, going thence back to the longitude of 60°, while in latitude they only cover approximately 38°. But the object of our remarks on latitude and longitude has been merely to set forth the matter as it relates to the Lands of Īrān, which are situated (as already said) in the middle point of the Seven Climes, and hence those regions which lie at a distance from the frontiers of Īrān it has been convenient not to include in our Map of Īrān. Thus the longitudes are only shown as starting from the 63rd degree, and running up to the 112th degree, which therefore displays 50 degrees of longitude; while the latitudes run from the 16th degree to the 45th degree, which gives 30 degrees of latitude, as registered therein. This therefore is the explanation of the same and grace lies with God<sup>2</sup>.

The Frontiers of the Land of Īrān. The eastern frontier lies on the province of Sind, then by Kābul, Ṣaghāniyān, Transoxiana and Khwārizm to the frontier of Saq̄sīn and Bulghār. The western frontier lies on the province of Nīksār (Neo-Caesarea) and Sis, and thence to Syria. The northern frontier lies on the lands of the Ossetes and Russians, the Magyars and Circassians, the Bartās and along the Khazar desert, which is also called the desert of Qipchāq, with the country of the Alāns and Franks. The dividing line between these last and the land of Īrān is formed by Alexander's Cut (the Hellespont) and the Sea of the Khazars (the Caspian), which is also known as the Sea of Jilān and Māzandarān. [11] The southern frontier lies on the desert of Najd, across which the road passes to Mecca, and on the right hand of this desert the line goes up to the frontiers of Syria, while on the left hand it comes down to the Persian Gulf, which adjoins the Indian Sea and is in communication therewith, from whence the frontier reaches India. Now although of these outer lands some, at times, have been under the sway of the sovereign of Īrān, and even in these parts some cities have been in fact founded by the sovereigns of Īrān, yet, since it is our intention here merely, and in particular, to lay down the exact frontier of

<sup>1</sup> In Arab map the south is placed above.

<sup>2</sup> A very rough map of Persia is given here in many of the MSS., but it has not been considered worth reproducing.

Īrān, it is necessary to omit now any detailed mention of these outer lands.

Concerning the direction of the Qiblah-point in these countries.

The Qiblah throughout the whole of the Lands of Īrān stands to the south-west, and faces the main wall of the Ka'bah, which has pre-eminence over the other three walls, for the reason that in it opens the Door of the Ka'bah, and that at (its eastern end is) the angle where the Black Stone is set. This pre-eminence is further shown by the Tradition of the Prophet<sup>1</sup> who said *Verily the Angle (of the Black Stone) and the Station (of Abraham) were two Sapphires of Paradise: but God has extinguished their brilliant light, and had He not so extinguished it, verily it had shone forth to light all things from the East to the West.*

The Ka'bah (as regards longitude) lies on a meridian which is 16° west of the central meridian (in longitude 90°) of the habitable earth; and it follows of necessity, from the varying latitudes and longitudes, that the Qiblah-point in different countries is also different. Thus in the provinces of the Two 'Irāqs, Adharbayjān, Arrān and Mūghān, Shirvān, Gushtāsfī and in part of Gurjistān and in the whole of Kurdistān, Qūmis, Mazāndarān, Ṭabaristān, Jīlānāt and in part also of Khurāsān, it is necessary when you would stand facing the Qiblah that the north pole should be behind the back and over the right ear, and that the star called 'Ayyūq (which follows the Pleiades) should rise behind the nape of the neck, and that the Scorpion's Heart (Antares) should set over against the Qiblah-point. Further at the times of the spring and autumn equinox the sun sets and rises (in those countries) at points that are almost due west and east. On the other hand, in the countries of Armenia and Asia Minor, and Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabi'ah, and in parts of Gurjistān, from what has already been explained, the Qiblah point faces rather more towards the east (than in the countries first described); while in the districts of Baṣrah and Khūzistān, in Fārs, Shabānkārah and Kirmān, in the lands of the Great Desert and Qūhistān, and in parts of Khurāsān it is necessary for exactly facing the Qiblah-point to turn more towards the west, while in Makrān, Hurmuz, [۱۷] Qays Island and Baḥrayn, you must face due west.

Now the approximate (Qiblah-point) of each of these places is clearly shown by the lines (of latitude and longitude) in the map (of Persia) that has been described above; but to get the exact direction of the Qiblah in any town it is necessary, in the place chosen, first to mark the line of the meridian and the true east and west points. These may be fixed in many ways, but of all ways that by means of the Indian Dial is the best known.

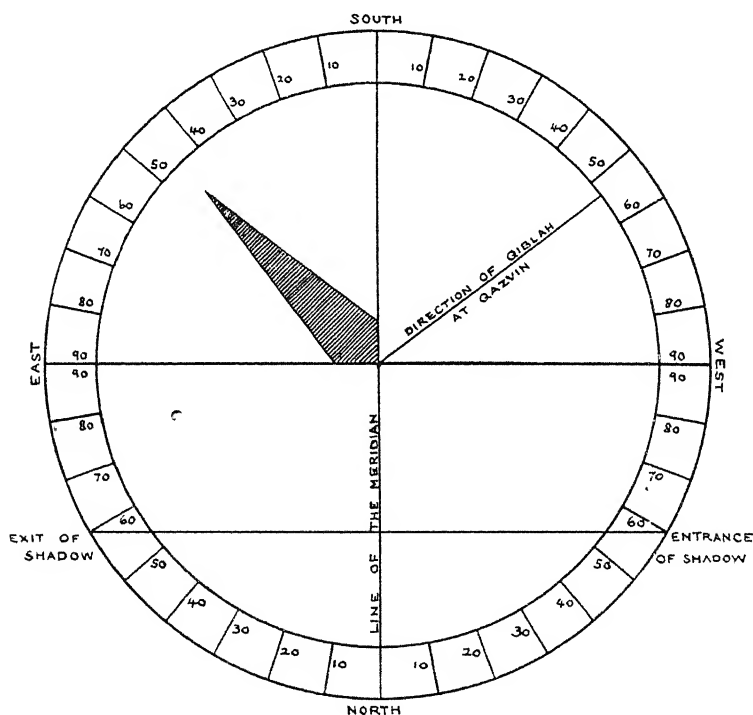
<sup>1</sup> Matthews, I. 620.

Now the Indian Dial is constructed after this wise. They make the ground perfectly level and flat, and such that in no part of it is there deflexion or depression or eminence, and such that should a quantity of water be poured over the ground it should run off equally on all sides, without tending to run off the level more in any one direction. Then on this ground a circle of any desired size is drawn. Next, a conical stake is to be fashioned, of the quarter length of the diameter of this circle, such that its top be very pointed, and its body below be equally sharp, so that the base may be easily set up in the ground. Then this stake is to be planted upright in the centre of the circle, being firmly fixed there so that it cannot move from its position, and it will then be that the summit of the stake stands equidistant from any three, or more, points on the line of the circumference of the circle. This is the Indian Dial: further it must be verified that the conical stake be truly in the centre thereof. Then, at the middle hour of the fore-noon, let them attend to the shadow of the stake: and when it passes inside from outside the circle, the place where the shadow crosses the line of the circle is to be marked by a point (set in the ground). After the same way, at the middle time of afternoon, when, on the other side of the Indian Dial, the shadow from within is about to pass without the circle, then let the place where the shadow cuts the circumference be also marked. Let these two points be joined by a line across the Dial, and next this line is to be halved, and from the half-way point a line is to be drawn joining this to the centre of the circle (and prolonged) till it cuts the circumference of the Dial (above and below): which line is the meridian line of that place.

Further, this line, as will be seen, divides the Dial into two semicircles lying on either side of it. Let each semicircle next be halved, and a line to connect their half-way points be drawn. This line of necessity will be found to pass through the centre point of the Dial, and this line (where it cuts the circumference) marks the points, due east and due west, of the place in question. Thus, from these two major lines, four points have come to be fixed on the circle of the Dial. The two points at either end of the line going from east to west mark, at the east end, the point of sun-rise at the time of the equinox, and westward the point of sun-set at the time of the equinox. [1:] Likewise, of the two points at the extremities of the meridian line, that to the south marks the (true) southern point, and that to the north the (true) northern point. Thus by these major lines the Dial is divided into four equal quarters, and of these each arc must now be divided into ninety equal parts, which same will each be of the space of a degree. The Indian Dial therefore is made after this fashion, and the representation of the same is given in the diagram (on the next page).



Now for determining the exact direction of the Qiblah-point of any place it is, of course, necessary that the latitude and longitude of Mecca be known, also the latitude and longitude of the place in question; and, as has already been said, of Mecca—may God ennoble the same—the longitude is  $77^{\circ}$ , and the latitude  $21^{\circ} 40'$ . of now the longitude of the place in question be the same as the longitude of Mecca, then the town in question and Mecca occupy the same meridian by reason of the uniformity of the longitudes. And if the latitude of the town in question be higher than the latitude of Mecca, the direction of the Qiblah in that town will lie along the meridian due south; that is to say, in facing the Qiblah the north will lie behind the back. Conversely, if the



latitude of the town in question [ $10^{\circ}$ ] be lower than the latitude of Mecca, the Qiblah point in this case will be due north along the meridian, which is the same as saying that, in looking towards the Qiblah, the face must be turned to the north. If, on the other hand, the latitude of the place in question be the same as the latitude of Mecca, and their respective longitudes differ, then the

Qiblah-point will lie along the line going east to west; and if the longitude of the place in question be greater than the longitude of Mecca, then for facing the Qiblah at that place, you must turn due west; while if contrariwise it be less, you must turn due east.

Now in these four cases just given it is not necessary to have recourse to any Table for ascertaining the amount of the arc of declination (of the Qiblah-point), for the Indian Dial is sufficient to show the cardinal points, east and west, with the meridian (marking north and south). But in the case where both the latitude and the longitude of the place in question differ from the latitude and longitude of Mecca, then if the latitude and longitude of the town be higher than the latitude and longitude of Mecca, its Qiblah-point will have to face south-west; and if its latitude and longitude be less than the latitude and longitude of Mecca, then its Qiblah-point will have to face north-east; while if the longitude of the town in question be more than the longitude of Mecca, its latitude at the same time being less than the latitude of Mecca, then its Qiblah-point must face north-west; and lastly, if the longitude of the place in question be less than the longitude of Mecca, while its latitude be higher, then the direction of the Qiblah-point will lie to the south-east. Now in these four latter cases some difficulty must occur in fixing the exact direction of the Qiblah-point, and to facilitate the matter, thus to avoid all labour in working out the calculation, a Table was drawn up, on the order of the Saljūq Sultān Sanjar, by the pious Shaykh ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān Khāzinī<sup>1</sup>, and by means of the same it is possible without trouble to fix the direction of the Qiblah-point in most places in Īrān.

Wherefore to use this Table for determining the Qiblah in the four last cases that were named above, it is requisite to obtain the difference between the longitude of Mecca and the longitude of the town in question, and likewise the difference between the latitude of Mecca and the latitude of the town in question. Next on the (vertical) side of the Table marked for the Longitudes you must find the place which has the number of degrees of the difference between the longitudes, and on the (horizontal or upper) side of the Table marked for the Latitudes find the difference of the latitudes; then in the place where, on the Table, the columns and lines running from these two figures intersect will be found

<sup>1</sup> He wrote the *Zij-i-Sanjari*, and an imperfect MS. of this work exists in the British Museum (*Or.* 6669). In the Vatican Library there is a complete and finely written copy, and this purports to be the autograph MS. (No. DCCLXI, A. 157). See Assemani-Mai, *Codices Arabici, Nova Collectio*, vol. IV. p. 616; and for the *Zij-i-Sanjari*, H. Suter, *Mathematiker* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 122, no. 293. However, neither in the B.M. MS. fragment, nor in the Vatican autograph, is this Table to be found.

marked the number of degrees and minutes giving the declination of the Qiblah-point from the meridian line. If both the latitude and longitude of the place in question be higher than the latitude and longitude of Mecca, the declination will have to be counted [۲۶] from the south point, where the line of the meridian cuts the circle of the Indian Dial; and in the western arc, from the point marked by the number of the degrees and minutes aforesaid, a line is to be drawn connecting this point with the centre of the Dial. This line will then show the direction of the Qiblah-point in the place in question, and the Mihrāb (or Niche marking the direction of Mecca) must be set exactly in accordance with this line. If, however, the latitude and longitude of the town in question be less than the latitude and longitude of Mecca, then the declination must be counted from the north point in the Indian Dial, and the number of degrees and minutes be marked off on the eastern arc, by which you will then get the true line of the Qiblah. And if, again, the longitude of the place in question be higher, while its latitude be lower, than those, respectively, of Mecca, then beginning from the north point you must count the degrees along the arc westward; while lastly if the longitude of the place in question be less than that of Mecca and its latitude greater, then you must begin to count from the south point and along the arc to the eastwards: and this fulfils all possible cases for finding the Qiblah point.

An example is here given to show the way to use (the Table) taking the case of the direction of the Qiblah-point of Qazvin, by which example that of other towns may be found. Of Qazvin the longitude is  $85^{\circ}$ , and the latitude  $36^{\circ}$ : of Mecca—may God ennoble the same—the longitude is  $77^{\circ}$ , and the latitude  $21^{\circ} 40'$ , hence the difference of the longitudes is  $8^{\circ}$ , and the difference of the latitudes is  $14^{\circ} 20'$ . If now we take the degrees of the difference of the longitudes on the (vertical or) Longitude column (at the side) of the Table, and then take the difference of the latitudes (omitting the minutes) on the (horizontal) line of Latitudes (at the top) of the Table, and next carefully note the figures given at the point of intersection of the column with the line aforesaid, the figures will be found to be  $28^{\circ} 35'$ , and this is the amount of the declination of the line marking the Qiblah-point of Qazvin. Further, since both the latitude and the longitude of Qazvin are respectively higher than the latitude and longitude of Mecca, we must count the declination from the south point of the Indian Dial, and along the western arc, and drawing a line from the point on the arc (marked by the number of degrees and minutes afore-

<sup>1</sup> The longitude of Mecca, in order to make it read in the *Abjad* as the word 'Izz 'Glory' (see above, p. 2), has been unduly increased by  $10^{\circ}$  (it should be  $67^{\circ}$ ), and the longitude of Qazvin is likewise here increased from  $75^{\circ}$  (as usually given) to  $85^{\circ}$ .

said) to the centre of the Dial this will show the true direction of the Qiblah at Qazvīn<sup>1</sup>. All this has been figured on the Indian Dial that is given above; and the Table which was drawn up will be found on the following page, but God alone is all knowing as to its exactitude.

<sup>1</sup> The direction of Qazvīn shown in the Diagram is, however, marked at about  $50^{\circ} 20'$  west of south, the true direction being a little over  $32^{\circ}$ .

	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I	41° 18'	26° 59'	17° 15'	12° 2'	10° 14'	8° 4'	7° 56'	7° 40'	7° 36'	7° 21'
2	69° 17'	42° 5'	31° 11'	25° 8'	20° 40'	15° 9'	14° 7'	13° 11'	11° 32'	10° 20'
3	70° 11'	54° 9'	43° 7'	34° 18'	29° 30'	26° 10'	21° 4'	19° 20'	16° 19'	15° 30'
4	75° 14'	61° 37'	51° 17'	43° 10'	36° 20'	31° 16'	28° 14'	25° 41'	22° 11'	20° 30'
5	77° 4'	67° 18'	56° 42'	49° 15'	43° 15'	36° 40'	33° 7'	30° 4'	26° 17'	25° 36'
6	79° 7'	74° 18'	60° 14'	54° 18'	48° 16'	43° 20'	38° 14'	36° 16'	32° 11'	29° 40'
7	81° 4'	75° 34'	72° 7'	58° 41'	52° 14'	46° 56'	43° 24'	39° 22'	36° 23'	33° 32'
8	82° 5'	78° 14'	74° 9'	61° 14'	56° 9'	51° 7'	46° 50'	43° 31'	39° 42'	36° 46'
9	83° 9'	80° 19'	76° 11'	64° 7'	59° 49'	54° 34'	50° 14'	46° 45'	43° 36'	40° 30'
10	84° 11'	82° 23'	77° 34'	66° 17'	62° 36'	56° 45'	53° 19'	49° 35'	46° 25'	43° 39'
11	85° 19'	83° 42'	79° 16'	68° 12'	64° 14'	59° 19'	55° 17'	52° 12'	49° 15'	46° 15'
12	86° 21'	85° 51'	79° 42'	71° 6'	66° 9'	62° 6'	58° 41'	54° 49'	51° 49'	48° 58'
13	87° 25'	86° 8'	82° 31'	73° 9'	67° 17'	64° 14'	59° 2'	56° 17'	53° 34'	50° 43'
14	88° 19'	87° 11'	82° 17'	74° 14'	69° 40'	65° 29'	62° 14'	58° 18'	55° 44'	53° 14'
15	89° 4'	88° 16'	82° 43'	75° 13'	70° 4'	68° 13'	63° 9'	60° 42'	56° 58'	55° 4'
16	89° 44'	88° 32'	82° 36'	76° 49'	71° 36'	68° 46'	65° 11'	62° 17'	59° 56'	56° 52'
17	90°	89° 14'	82° 4'	76° 14'	72° 29'	69° 17'	66° 3'	63° 19'	60° 17'	58° 12'
18	90°	90°	83° 18'	76° 51'	73° 42'	70° 30'	67° 6'	65° 30'	62° 14'	59° 59'
19	90°	90°	83° 31'	77° 7'	74° 30'	71° 21'	69° 4'	66° 46'	63° 18'	61° 14'
20	90°	90°	84° 9'	83° 17'	75° 17'	72° 34'	70° 7'	67° 23'	65° 29'	62° 17'

II	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	I8	I9	20	
6° 32'	6° 28'	4° 8'	3° 51'	3° 34'	3° 33'	3° 31'	3° 21'	3° 17'	2° 28'	I
9° 44'	6° 4'	8° 30'	7° 20'	7° 10'	6° 39'	6° 15'	6° 4'	5° 30'	5° 26'	2
4° 34'	14° 14'	14° 4'	11° 14'	10° 31'	10° 3'	9° 40'	8° 31'	8° 17'	8° 7'	3
8° 14'	17° 11'	16° 7'	15° 21'	15° 19'	13° 17'	12° 36'	11° 41'	11° 30'	10° 17'	4
13° 47'	21° 36'	19° 42'	18° 24'	17° 16'	16° 44'	15° 14'	14° 47'	14° 4'	13° 34'	5
17° 43'	25° 57'	23° 51'	22° 46'	22° 34'	19° 43'	18° 19'	17° 42'	16° 47'	15° 50'	6
12° 28'	28° 14'	26° 18'	25° 34'	23° 36'	22° 32'	21° 48'	20° 19'	19° 12'	18° 23'	7
15° 4'	32° 33'	32° 42'	28° 36'	26° 19'	25° 14'	24° 23'	21° 30'	21° 54'	20° 19'	8
17° 30'	35° 23'	33° 50'	33° 33'	29° 7'	28° 32'	26° 14'	25° 36'	25° 49'	23° 38'	9
10° 41'	38° 2'	36° 8'	34° 17'	34° 15'	31° 15'	29° 32'	27° 14'	26° 16'	25° 36'	10
13° 43'	40° 50'	38° 12'	36° 18'	35° 36'	34° 20'	31° 45'	31° 30'	29° 42'	26° 50'	11
15° 54'	43° 45'	41° 29'	39° 4'	36° 32'	36° 12'	34° 24'	32° 46'	31° 16'	31° 28'	12
18° 48'	45° 48'	43° 47'	41° 39'	39° 44'	36° 40'	36° 20'	34° 44'	33° 41'	32° 4'	13
10° 23'	48° 38'	45° 44'	43° 49'	41° 49'	40° 4'	38° 36'	36° 29'	35° 12'	34° 4'	14
11° 46'	50° 13'	48° 28'	45° 40'	43° 52'	42° 16'	40° 24'	38° 50'	36° 34'	35° 49'	15
13° 33'	51° 36'	49° 46'	47° 45'	45° 35'	43° 58'	42° 26'	40° 44'	39° 12'	36° 50'	16
15° 42'	53° 23'	51° 25'	49° 36'	47° 35'	45° 30'	44° 23'	42° 36'	41° 2'	39° 56'	17
16° 44'	55° 32'	53° 13'	51° 5'	49° 26'	47° 25'	45° 25'	44° 32'	42° 46'	41° 19'	18
19° 39'	56° 14'	54° 22'	52° 14'	50° 38'	49° 16'	47° 15'	45° 20'	44° 41'	42° 56'	19
10° 14'	58° 7'	56° 4'	54° 12'	52° 4'	50° 18'	48° 15'	47° 5'	45° 15'	44° 50'	20

## CHAPTER IV

The Land of Īrān. Revenues, Khurāsān not included. Total revenue under Ghāzān Khān, and at the time the author wrote. Amount under the Sassanian kings, and the days of Malik Shāh. Contrast with present state of decay. The Province of Arabian 'Irāq: reasons for its precedence. Size. Area under cultivation. Mensuration and taxes established by 'Omar. Revenue under Hajjāj. Revenues under Mongols, assessment known as *Rātib*. Comparison of total at time of Hamd-Allah with accounts of the time of the Caliph Nāsir. Edict as regards slaughter of cattle. Method followed in these Sections: reasons for beginning with Kūfah of Baghdād. Position of Kūfah. Description of the town, its walls and wells. The Mosque: column with mark of 'Alī's hand. The Oven of the Flood. Tombs of Companions and Holy Men. Taxation of Kūfah lands. Mashhad 'Alī. Tomb of 'Alī, how re-discovered. Story of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. The Crooked Minaret. Karbalā, the Shrine of Husayn. Shrine of Ezekiel, or Dhū-l-Kifl, and of Jonah. Baghdād its position: earlier cities here. Foundation by the Caliph Maṣṣūr of West Baghdād. East Baghdād built by Mahdī. Building of Sāmariyah, transference thither of the capital. Return of Caliphs to Baghdād. Building of the Walls. The Great Mosque and the Palaces. The Gates. Climate, People and peculiarities of Baghdād. Canals and waterways. Colleges, Tombs and Shrines. Distances of various towns from Baghdād. Revenues of the City. Verses in praise of Baghdād

**DIVISION II.** Describing the provinces and districts of the Land of Īrān, and the nature of the climates, with the description of the buildings in each of the provinces, and their inhabitants; the same being detailed in twenty sections, each describing a single province.

Throughout the whole Land of Īrān, each of all the villages is like a city (for size), and stands independent of its province. Now in the matter of the revenues [ṣṣ] of the Land of Īrān, the province of Khurāsān is not a part thereof, for it is a separate Sultanate, the revenue of which, since Mongol times, has never been included in the sum total of Īrān, being written off on a separate account. And first, in regard to the epoch preceding the recent disorders<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Namely the disorders that followed on the death of Sultan Uljaytū (brother of Ghāzān Khān) in 716 (1316), and the accession of his son Abū Sa'īd, a boy of twelve. In order to understand the account here given of the revenues of Persia, the following details must be borne in mind. From about the year 75 (694), when the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik established a Moslem currency, down to the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in 656 (1258), the two standard coins were the (gold) dinār and the (silver) dirham; and their value, respectively, during these centuries was never much depreciated. The basis of the Moslem monetary system is the *Mithqāl* weight, and when coined this weight of gold was the dinār, the value of which may be counted at about half a guinea. The dirham was coined to contain  $\frac{1}{4}$  ths of a Mithqāl weight of silver. In other words, and as the Arab authors state the case, 10 silver dirhams balanced 7 gold dinārs; and the tested weight of specimens in the Coin Collection of the British Museum, and elsewhere, fully bears this out, for the average of the dinārs is 66 grains,

Now during the several times when (as State Accountant) I computed the sum total until the first years of the reign of Ghāzān Khān—whom may God enfold in His forgiveness—the revenue amounted to 17,000,000 and odd (currency dīnārs), but after this early period, by reason of the just government of Ghāzān Khān which brought back such prosperity to the land, it reached the sum of 21,000,000 and odd (currency dīnārs). At the present time it probably does not amount to half this sum, for in most of the provinces usurpation of authority is rampant with this coming and going of armies, so that the people even do withhold their hands from sowing the fields. In the *Masālik-al-Mamālik* Ibn Khurdādbih states that King Khusraw Parvīz in the eighteenth year of his reign (A.D. 608)—which same was the last year of the Days of Infidelity, for the nineteenth year of his reign was that in which the Mission of the Prophet was made manifest—the sum total which was recorded for the whole of his kingdom amounted to 400,020,000 dīnārs of red gold<sup>1</sup>, the same that at the present time are known as *‘Azwāmil* (*‘Governors*’), and at the exchange of the present time this is equivalent to 800,040,000 currency (dīnārs).

In the *Risālat-i-Malikshāhī* (Diary of Malik-Shāh) it is

and of the dirhams 45 to 46 grains. The exchange between the coins was legally 10 dirhams to the dīnār; but this, in consequence of the fluctuating value of gold to silver, varied greatly at different epochs (cf. H. Sauvage, *‘Numismatique et Métrologie Musulmane,’* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1882, vol. XIX. p. 111) at times running as high as 20 dirhams to the dīnār. The average may be put at 14 dirhams to the dīnār; and this is the exchange which Hamd-Allah has adopted in the following calculations. After the fall of the Caliphate and the establishment of the Mongol dynasty, the coinage became much depreciated, and finally Ghāzān Khān effected his well-known reforms (cf. S. L. Poole, *Cat. Or. Coins in Brit. Mus.* vol. VI. p. 1x) by which, presumably, the currency dīnār (*Dīnār-i-Rāij*) mentioned so often by Hamd-Allah came into use. The older (Abbasid, or gold) dīnār was counted as equivalent to 2½ (new) currency dīnārs: in other words, 7 currency dīnārs were equal to 3 Abbasid dīnārs. Further, Hamd-Allah, later on, gives this currency dīnār as equivalent to 6 Abbasid dirhams, which works out, for the exchange of gold and silver, at the rate already stated of 14 (Abbasid) dirhams to the (Abbasid) dīnār. Lastly it is to be noted that the sums of currency dīnārs named by Hamd-Allah are almost invariably given as so many *Tūmān Rāij*, that is to say so many times 10,000 currency dīnārs. The *tūmān* of course was not then a coin (as it is at the present time) for the dīnār of Hamd-Allah’s time, though much depreciated, was still a piece of money equivalent to about five shillings, and his *tūmān* is therefore equivalent to about £2500. At the present day, however, the *tūmān* (still of 10,000 nominal dīnārs) has so depreciated in value that the modern Persian *tūmān* is now equivalent only to about four shillings, in other words to a sum less than what its ten-thousandth part (the currency dīnār) was worth in the time of Hamd-Allah, while the dīnār of to-day is but a money of account, with a value of 2½ of a penny, though, as already said, in Abbasid times it was the gold piece, and worth half a guinea.

<sup>1</sup> In Ibn Khurdādbih, however, the sum recorded is 420,000,000 mithqāls, and Hamd-Allah has fallen into the further error of supposing these to be mithqāls (weights) of gold, each equivalent to a dīnār. But the Sassanian currency was, as is well known, reckoned in silver pieces, and the above sum is in mithqāls of silver, as Ibn Khurdādbih himself clearly states, for he adds—‘these 420 million mithqāls at the rate of seven (mithqāls of silver to ten dirhams) are equivalent in our day to 600 million (silver) dirhams.’ See A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, I. 257.



reported that in the days of the Saljūq Sultan Malik Shāh (the revenue amounted to) 215,000,000 and odd of red gold dīnārs<sup>1</sup>, and since these dīnārs are to be reckoned as  $2\frac{1}{3}$  dīnārs (currency) of the present day, this sum amounts to somewhat over 500,000,000 (dīnārs currency). From the above a comparison may be made in regard to the state of fertility of the land (in past times) and its ruin (in the present day), as a result of the irruption of the Mongols, and the general massacre of the people which took place in their days. Further there can be no doubt that even if for a thousand years to come no evil befalls the country, yet will it not be possible completely to repair the damage, and bring back the land to the state in which it was formerly. Least of all can this be in our times, by reason of the numerous unhappy events that so constantly befall so that the couplet:

*Every day that passes makes cares of yesterday appear light:  
Each new year that comes makes the losses of last year seem trivial,*

became the continual utterance of the people. May God—be He glorified and exalted—cast a glance of pity and commiseration upon us, [۲۸] and for all times to come have in His keeping and protection the Land of Īrān, and all other countries of the Moslems, guarding them from the calamities of the age; and may He, of His grace and beneficence and loving kindness and mercy, grant that we remain henceforth in perfect peace and complete tranquillity, with justice for all, and a stable government that changes not.

#### SECTION I. Concerning the Province of Arabian 'Irāq.

In the *Masālik-al-Mamālik* it is stated that Arabian 'Irāq used to be called the Heart of Īrān-Shahr, and since the heart is the lord of life, it is suitable to begin with the description of this province; and again, in the *Suwar-al-'Aqālīm* it is said that since Arabian 'Irāq lies to the Qiblah (Mecca-wards) of the Land of Īrān it is therefore likewise proper to set it in the forefront. And indeed since in this province was the capital where 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, resided, and where he lies buried, also that for five hundred and forty years this was the seat of the Abbasid Caliphate, it were in any case incumbent to give it the priority. The frontiers of the province are near by the Desert of Najd, and thence down to the Persian Gulf; next they march with those of the province of Khūzistān, then by Kurdistān, and lastly Diyār Bakr. Its length, from Takrīt to 'Abbādān, measures 125 leagues: its breadth, from the Pass of Hūlwān to Qādisiyah over

<sup>1</sup> That is Abbasid dīnārs. It will be noticed that in the previous calculation Hamd-Allah takes the Sassanian dīnār (as he, in error, quotes it from Ibn Khurdābih) to have been equivalent to two dīnārs currency, i.e. that the Sassanian dīnār was a seventh less in weight of gold than the dīnār of the Caliphs.

against the Naʿd Desert, is 80 leagues; this giving an area of 10,000 square leagues.

During the Caliphate of ʿOmar, who bequeathed Arabian ʿIrāq to the Moslems, he gave orders to effect its mensuration, and after careful survey the result showed an area of 36,000,000 Jarībs<sup>1</sup>. Accounting, however, as before said, that the total area (of the province) is 10,000 square leagues, since each square league contains 40,000 Jarībs—each Jarīb being a square of 60 ells by 60 ells—these 10,000 square leagues would give 400,000,000 Jarībs. (But this is in excess, and) the measurement giving 10,000 square leagues can only be attained on the supposition that the area enclosed by the sides of latitude and longitude is a right-angled parallelogram. In point of fact the map does not show this to be the case, for evidently at one place the province is broader, and at another narrower, than what is supposed. And again a great portion of the province is waterless desert, or swamp-land which can only be waste and barren, while the mensuration that was effected in the time of ʿOmar assuredly took account only of ground that was under the plough, [ra] or planted, and where water was readily obtainable, which would fully account for the difference (above given) in the two estimates of the area.

The Caliph ʿOmar, further, established a land-tax of 4 dirhams (yearly) on every Jarīb of ground that was wheat bearing, while the lands under barley paid 2 dirhams, and he took 8 dirhams from palm orchards, counting 40 palms to the Jarīb; while lands growing vines and fruits paid 6 dirhams tax. The tributary (Christians and Magians) also he caused to be numbered, and they were 500,000 souls, whom he divided into three classes:—and of these the highest class were assessed to pay a poll-tax of 48 dirhams, the middle class 24 dirhams, and the lowest class 12 dirhams. Now these sums were payable year by year, and the total of both land-tax and poll-tax amounted to 128,000,000 dirhams, which at the usual exchange in our money is equivalent to 21,330,000 and odd (currency dinārs). In the time of the (Omayyad governor) Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf this had fallen to 18,000,000 dirhams, which is equivalent to 3,000,000 (currency dinārs) of the present day. Whereby the justice of ʿOmar and the tyranny of Ḥajjāj are clearly established, yet, though the Sunnīs hold ʿOmar to have been just, the Shīʿahs persistently account him to have been a tyrant.

Whatever remains of that assessment at the present day is known as *Kharāj-i-Rātib* (permanent impost), coming under matters that are administered by the Treasury, and the sum due

<sup>1</sup> The *Jarīb* is an ancient Babylonish measure: 3½ Jarībs are about equivalent to our acre: or, in other words, 10 Jarībs equal 3 acres. The *Farsakh*, *Farsang* (Parasang) or league of 3 (Arab) miles, measured 12,000 ells.

from this property in the year 35 of the Khānī era<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 1335) amounted to somewhat over 3,000,000 currency dīnārs. This sum, however, by reason of the misrule of the local governors, is now much diminished; though if that area of land which was surveyed in the time of the Caliph 'Omar were now under cultivation, being either sown (for cereals) or planted (for orchards), it would yield a revenue more than double of what it does now. For even if it were all reckoned to be under barley, which only pays two dirhams for each Jarīb (the 36 million Jarībs at this rate would yield 72 million Abbasid dirhams, which is the equivalent of) 12 million currency dīnārs, or in tūmāns (of 10,000) 1200 tūmāns. Further, at the time when I myself was at Baghdād in charge of the tax-office there, I saw an official copy of the assessment drawn up in the reign of the Caliph Nāṣir, and herein the province of Arabian 'Irāq was set down as yielding above 30 million currency dīnārs. Even in those days the (ill-advised) interference of the government, in matters connected with agriculture and farming, had reached such a pitch that it was forbidden any more to slaughter cattle. Alluding to which a poet wrote this couplet<sup>2</sup>:

*We complained to him of the ruin of the Sawād (Babylonia);  
Then like a fool he forbade us the flesh of oxen. [r.]*

But now at length, seeing that all interference with the cultivation of the land has ceased on the part of the local governors, and that they have given orders in the diverse districts of 'Irāq that the Treasury officials should abstain from perquisitions on the oxen that tread out the corn, and on the cattle or other beasts, doubtless the crops of former times will be equalled by those of the present day. May God Almighty, of His grace and mercy, vouchsafe to establish just and discreet governors throughout all the provinces of the Land of Īrān, as well too as in every other country of Moslem rule: verily He alone is omnipotent in all things.

We now proceed to describe the various districts and cities, and although according to the alphabetical order we ought to begin with those having Alif (A) for initial, and Kūfah begins with a Kāf (K), while Baghdād begins with a Bā (B), yet since Kūfah was the capital of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī, and is the place where he lies buried, and since Baghdād is the Mother of the Cities of this land, and was the seat of the Abbasid Caliphate, where too is the Place of Martyrdom of the Imāms Mūsā-al-Kāẓim and Muḥammad-at-Taḳī, we shall begin this Section with

<sup>1</sup> The Khānī era, established by Ghāẓān Khān, and which appears on some of the coins of Abū Sa'īd, started with the 1st of Rajab 701; equivalent to the 2nd March, A.D. 1301.

<sup>2</sup> These lines are much older than the time of the Caliph Nāṣir who reigned from 575 to 622 (1180 to 1225).

describing these two cities, and then take up the alphabetical order (in regard to other towns); also in all later Sections, for similar reasons, we shall begin in each case by describing the capital city of the province, and then take up the alphabetical order (for the remaining towns).

**Kūfah.** Of the Third Clime, and a town built since the days of Islām. Its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is  $79^{\circ} 32'$ , and its latitude north of the equator  $31^{\circ} 35'$ . Now these figures (in the *Abjad* reckoning are represented by the letters which) may be read *‘Aṭila balāluluḥu*, meaning ‘His adhesion was useless,’ which is a curious coincidence (having regard to the fate of the Caliph ‘Alī), and shows manifestly that no good deed can be wrought by the people of this city, nor can any credence be placed in their professions, and the same was abundantly proved by the history of their dealings with diverse members of the Family of the Prophet—on whom be peace. Further the Arabs have also a proverb which says *The Kufite does not keep faith.*

The city had originally been founded by Hūshang king of the Pīshdādian dynasty (of Persia), but it fell to ruin, and was in time rebuilt by Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (the Arab General) in the days of the Caliph ‘Omar. At its foundation the sign of Aquarius was in the ascendant. The Caliph ‘Alī subsequently ordered the town of Hāshimiyyah to be laid out beside Kūfah, which same the Abbasid Caliph Manṣūr completed. He also it was who surrounded it and Kūfah with walls, and the circuit of these same walls is 18,000 paces. The climate of the city is hotter than that of Baghdād; and the north wind is more prevalent there. Water is brought to Kūfah by the Nahr Nāhiyah (the District Canal), which is taken from the Euphrates. The city possesses many palm groves, and the reeds (used for writing-pens) that grow here are larger and better than those found in any other province. Fine crops of cotton, corn and other cereals are raised in the vicinity.

The Oven whence the Flood poured forth in the days of Noah [۴۱]—as is witnessed by the words of the Qurān (ch. XI. v. 42, and ch. XXIII. v. 27) *And the Oven boiled up*—stood originally on a piece of ground which at the present time is enclosed within the mosque of Kūfah at its north-western angle. Further in this same Mosque the Caliph ‘Alī received his death wound, when he (to support himself) laid his hand on one of its columns, and the impress of his blessed hand still appears upon this column; but at the present day, from the many times that the people have rubbed their hands on the place to obtain a blessing, it has become hollowed out. The Caliph ‘Alī also caused a well to be dug here, and except for this one well the wells of Kūfah do not give sweet water, but only water that is brackish and bitter. Kūfah at the present day for the most part is in ruin. The majority of its population is Shī‘ah of the sect of the Twelve

(Imāms). The people talk Arabic, but of a corrupt dialect. Here may be seen the tombs of many of the Companions, among the rest that of the last of them, 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Bakr, who died in the year 86 (705): and among the Shaykhs and notables is found the grave of Abū 'Amr<sup>1</sup> the third of the Seven Readers (of the Qurān).

Kūfah possesses many dependent districts and the revenues of the city are apportioned to the Treasury<sup>2</sup>. That part which is desert pays the customary quota at the present time; while all that portion of the plain of Arabian 'Irāq which is orchard-ground pays the land-tax, assessed in part under what is known as permanent impost (*Rātib*), and in part under casual impost (*Hādith*). Of the winter and summer crops about one-third (of the produce) is paid over to the Treasury; the second-third (approximately), known as *Bānī*<sup>3</sup>, goes for the expenses of cultivation and similar charges; while the last third, which is the most considerable, is for the occupier. Furthermore at the present day (as already said) all these lands belong to the Treasury.

Two leagues distant from Kūfah towards the south-west lies Mashhad 'Alī, the shrine of 'Alī the Commander of the Faithful, known as the Mashhad-i-Gharwā (the Wondrous Shrine). For when 'Alī had received his death wound, in the mosque at Kūfah, he gave it as his will that as soon as he was dead his body should be placed on a camel; then the camel was to be given its head and set in motion, and wheresoever the beast knelt down, there they should bury his body. This being done, it came to pass that the camel knelt at the place where now is the Shrine, and here in consequence was he buried. Now during the reigns of the Omayyad Caliphs his blessed resting place could not be disclosed, and so it was also under the Abbasids until the reign of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. [۷۷] But in the year 175 (791) Hārūn happened to go a-hunting in these parts, and his quarry fleeing from him took refuge in this very spot. And however much the Caliph urged his horse into the place, into it the horse would not go; and on this awe took possession of the Caliph's heart. He made enquiries of the people of the neighbourhood, and they acquainted him with the fact that this was the grave of 'Alī. Hārūn ordered the ground to be excavated, and the body of 'Alī was discovered lying there wounded. A tomb was afterwards erected, and the people began to settle in its vicinity.

A hundred and ninety and odd years later 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Būyid, in the year 366 (977), raised a mighty building over the

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), II. 399 : he died in 154 (770).

<sup>2</sup> *Tamghā*, (Privy) Seal, meaning probably the Sultan's Private Domain.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is most uncertain; the whole passage can only be translated tentatively.

grave, as it now exists, and the place has since become a little town, the circuit of which is 2500 paces. Here Ghāzān Khān built a hostelry for Sayyids and a Darvīsh-house. In the *Risālah* of Sultān Malik Shāh the Saljūq it is related that, on his road from Kūfah to Mashhad ‘Alī, the Sultān noticed a Minaret which was all crooked, so that half rose straight from the ground and half was falling over. He enquired of the matter and was told that ‘Alī had once passed by here, when this Minaret, to pay him respect, began to bend over: but the Caliph ‘Alī made a sign to it that it should remain thus.

Eight leagues to the west of Kūfah, out in the desert, stands Karbalā, the Shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Ḥusayn, which is known as the Mashhad Hāirī (the Shrine of Disruption) because, as history relates, when in the reign of the Caliph Mutawakkil they dammed up the water in that spot to lay the shrine in ruin, the water burst through and left dry the ground where was the grave of Ḥusayn. The building over this, also, was built by ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Būyid, and it became at a later date a small town, the circuit of which measures 2400 paces. Outside this is seen the tomb of my ancestor, in the eighteenth generation, namely Ḥurr Riyāhī<sup>1</sup>, who was the first person to give his life (at the battle of Karbalā) for the sake of Ḥusayn the Commander of the Faithful, being martyred by those whom the Caliph Yazīd—may he be accursed—had sent. A Tradition is reported that the Prophet said *He who makes visitation to (the tomb of) Al-Ḥusayn on the Night of Intention, God for a whole year will forgive him his sins*; and they add that the night on which you should intend (your visitation) is the eve of the 1st of the month of Rajab.

Four leagues to the north of Kūfah and near the village of Bīr Malāḥah (the Brackish Well) is the tomb of the Prophet Dhū-l-Kifl (Him of the Lot), to whose shrine the Jews make their pilgrimage [ṛṛ], as the Moslems do to the Ka‘bah<sup>2</sup>. Uljaytū Sultān, the Mongol, took the guardianship of this shrine out of the hands of the Jews and confided it to Moslems; he also built here a mosque with a minaret. To the east of Kūfah is the Station of the Prophet Yūnus (Jonah), and the shrine of Iḥudhayfah ibn al Yamān, who was one of the more intimate Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad.

**Baghdād.** Of the Third Clime, and the capital city of Arabian ‘Irāq. It was founded since the days of Islam, and lies on the bank of the Tigris. Its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is 77°, and its latitude north of the equator 33°. In the days of the

<sup>1</sup> Chief of the Arab tribe of Tamīm : cf. Sir L. Pelly, *The Miracle Play of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn*, i. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Bīr Malāḥah or Barmalāḥah lay near Iḥillah. The prophet Dhū-l-Kifl is identified with Ezekiel.

Chosroes, however, on the place Baghdād now occupies, there was a village on the western bank of the Tigris called Karkh, which was built by Sapor II, and on the eastern bank lay Sābāt, a village of the dependencies of Nahrawān. In the plain (to the north) of this village Chosroes Anūshirvān laid out a garden, to which he gave the name of 'the Garden of Justice' (Bāgh-i-Dād), and afterwards this name, as Baghdād, came to be the proper name of the place. The Arabs call it Madīnat-ās-Salām (the City of Peace), and the Persians call it Zawrā (Crooked).

Manṣūr, grandson of the grandson of ʿAbbās (the uncle of the Prophet), who was the second of the Abbasid Caliphs, and nicknamed Abū Dawānīq ('Father of Pence,' from his stinginess), founded the city in the year 145 (762) on the western bank of the river, constructing many buildings, and when these were begun the Sign of Sagittarius was in the ascendant. His son Maḥdī transferred his residence to the eastern bank, building (there the new Palace of) the Caliphate, and surrounding it with other quarters, which his son Hārūn-ar-Rashīd on his accession brought to completion after much labour. Such was then the size of the city that the houses stretched for a length of four leagues (along the Tigris banks), with a width across of a league and a half. In the reign of his son the Caliph Muʿtaṣim, who had in his service (a Turkish bodyguard of) many Ghulāms, and these having become a source of trouble to the people of Baghdād, the seat of the Caliphate was transferred to Sāmarrāh, where Muʿtaṣim proceeded to erect numerous palaces. Here in Sāmarrāh—of his sons, grandsons and great grandsons—seven Caliphs reigned, namely Wāthiq, Mutawakkil, Muntaṣir, Mustafīn, Muʿtazz, Muḥtadī and Muʿtamīd, until it came to the reign of Muʿtaḍid, grandson of Mutawakkil, the sixteenth (Abbasid) Caliph, who transferred the seat of the Caliphate again back to Baghdād.

After the time of Muʿtaḍid all [r.] the remaining (Abbasid) Caliphs in succession had their abode in Baghdād, where in the reign of his son ʿAlī Muktafī the Dār-ash-Shāṭiʿiyyah (the Palace of the River Bank)<sup>1</sup> and the great Mosque of Eastern Baghdād were both built. When it came to the reign (of the twenty-eighth Caliph) Mustazhir, he built round Baghdād a wall of burnt brick, surrounding this again by a ditch; and the circuit of this wall that enclosed in a semicircle the quarter known as the Double Hāram of the eastern bank was 18,000 paces. (East Baghdād

<sup>1</sup> The majority of the MSS. give Dār-ash-Shāṭibah, or Shāṭibiyyah; the first would be the Palace of Xativa (a town in Andalusia), and the second would signify 'the Woman of Xativa,' but neither of these readings is suitable in this connection. Another common variant is Dār-as-Salṭānah, the Palace of the Sultanate, which is possible, and the name is well known for this palace afterwards became the official residence of the Saljūq Sultans. For this, and other matters connected with the topography of the city, see *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1900) by the present translator.

then) had four Gates, namely the Gate of Khurāsān (or of the Khurāsān Road), the Khalaj Gate, the Halbah Gate and the Gate of the Sultān's Market<sup>1</sup>. On the western bank lay the quarter that is known as Karkh, the wall surrounding which had a circuit of 12,000 paces. Most of the houses in the city were built of kiln-burnt bricks. The climate of Baghdād is excellent, being rather warm, but mild, and it is open to the north. The climate agrees equally with strangers and natives, but agrees with and suits women better than men.

At most seasons provisions are cheap here, scarcity and dearth being very rarely known, and even when they occur the dearth is not general, and provisions merely become locally somewhat more expensive. The fruits of a warm climate are found here in excellence and in abundance, as for instance the date known as *Makhtūm* ('sealed'), and that called *Khashtuwī* ('stoned'), also the *Darrājī* pomegranate and the *Mūraqī* grape, the equal of which are found in no other lands. The fruits of a cold climate, however, do not ripen here in great excellence. Both cotton and corn grow well, as also all other grain crops, so that in most seasons one (*Mann*) weight of seed gives a crop of twenty (*Mann*) weight, such being the growth and increase. In this country too the tamarisk (*Gaz*) tree attains such a size that its trunk measures from two to three fathoms in girth, and the Palma Christi (*Khirwa*) becomes so big that a man can sit on its branches without their breaking. The hunting-grounds near Baghdād are numerous and excellent; and game is abundant. The country round is a plain, and its pasture-lands are rich; further the crops of this region are so abundant in their growth that, unless they are eaten down after the harvest they do not give their full increase; as a consequence the cattle here are always very fat.

The Tigris flows through the city; and (the Canal called) the Nahr<sup>c</sup>Īsā from the Euphrates likewise joins the Tigris at Baghdād, while two leagues below the city [۳۰] the Nahrawān Canal runs in, and thence (the Tigris) flows on down to Wāsiṭ. Its stream (at Baghdād) is a fine thing to see from the number of boats, and looks

*Like the Milky way with the stars by night,*

and is mighty pleasant to contemplate, though in truth this pleasure is not worth the risk of death by drowning. The wells in Baghdād have bitter or brackish water, and are for the most part about 15 ells deep: hence their water is only used for scouring and for washing clothes. The people here are fair-skinned, good looking, easy going and pleasant tempered, but slothfulness dominates

<sup>1</sup> For the position of these gates see the plan of Baghdād in the work named in the preceding note.



their nature, and they pass their time in pleasure. Life is made easy to the rich by abundant comforts, whatever is needed for good living can easily be come by, while the poor with a few copper coins can get of a sufficiency for contentment. Most of the people here are fat in body, and corpulence among them at times is to such a degree that when in the reign of Uljaytū Sultān a certain baker, who was wont to sit in the Market of the Nizāmiyyah quarter, was by royal command weighed, his weight amounted to 740 Baghdād Raṭls (pounds). Their speech is Arabic, but corrupt. Since this is the metropolitan city, Moslems of all sects are numerous here; the majority are Sunnis of the Shāfi'ite sect, though the Ḥanbalites are also powerful, while the adherents of other sects are innumerable. Colleges and Darvish Convents are numerous; among the rest is the Nizāmiyyah College, which is the greatest of them all; and the Mustanṣiriyyah, which is the most beautiful building in Baghdād. They say that it is a peculiarity of this city that no Caliph or Governor ever yet died within its limits.

Outside the city are numerous shrines and holy graves. Thus on the western bank there are the shrines of Kāzīm and his grandson Taqī, the (Seventh and Ninth) Imāms<sup>1</sup> and this place is now a small town standing by itself, the circuit of which measures 6000 paces. Also there are on this side many other tombs: namely those of Ibn Ḥanbal (the Imām, and of the Sūfi Saints) Ibn Adham<sup>2</sup>, Junayd Baghdādi, Sarī Saqaṭī, Ma'rūf Karkhī, Shibli, Ḥallāj, Ḥārith Muḥāsibī, Ibn Masrūq, Ibn Muḥammad Murta'ish, Abū-l-Ḥasan Ḥuṣrī and Abū Ya'qūb Buwayṭī, the chief disciple of Shāfi'ī<sup>3</sup>, also of many other Shaykhs and learned men. On the eastern [rī] bank is the tomb of (the Imām) Abū Ḥanīfah, while in Ruṣāfah, which is a small township standing by itself, are the graves of the Abbasid Caliphs, and in (East) Baghdād city are the tombs of the Shaykh Shihāb-ad-Dīn Suhrawārdī, and of 'Abd-al-Qādir Gīlānī<sup>4</sup>. To the north of the city again, but four leagues distant, lie the shrines of Shaykh Mukārim and Shaykh Sakrān, and there are besides these very many more tombs and shrines, the complete enumeration of which would be too long to write out here.

The distances from Baghdād to the various towns of Arabian 'Irāq are as follows: Anbār 11 leagues; Baṣrah 70 leagues; Ba'qūbā 8 leagues; Takrīt 32 leagues; Nahrawān city 5 leagues;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Baghdād*, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> He is the subject of Leigh Hunt's well-known poem, *Abou ben Adam*; his full name being Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq ibn Adham. The text of the anecdote, which Leigh Hunt took from D'Herbelot (see vol. I. p. 57, in the Maestricht edition, 1776, of the *Bibliothèque Orientale*), is given by Farīd-ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, I. 103 (edited by R. A. Nicholson, *Persian Texts*, 1905).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Baghdād*, pp. 79, 99, 160: Ibn Khallikān, IV. 394.

<sup>4</sup> *Baghdād*, pp. 191, 193, 348: Ibn Khallikan, II. 382.

Nuḥmāniyyah 8 leagues; Ḥillah 18 leagues; Ḥadīthah 58 leagues; Ḥulwān 35 leagues; Sāmarrāh 22 leagues; Kūfa 24 leagues; Madāin 6 leagues; Jabbul 10 leagues; and Wāsiṭ 40 leagues.

At the present day the revenues of the Baghdād lands have been assigned to the Treasury, and they amount approximately to 800,000 (currency dīnārs); further, the districts lying immediately round the city are known under the technical names of Afrānchah and Muqātaʿāt<sup>1</sup>. The remaining towns of the province will now be enumerated in their (alphabetical) order. In regard to Baghdād both Arab and Persian poets have written many poems; and of what occurs to mind a quotation or two may be here set down. Thus Athīr-ad-Dīn Awmānī says:

*If thou wouldst see the whole world together in one spot,  
And see that world all living in luxury,  
Be like the sun, thy whole face but one eye, and look at Baghdād,  
Then wilt thou see it like the heaven round about the Pleiades.*

This ode goes on to some length. Anvarī too has given us these verses:

*How pleasant is the neighbourhood of Baghdād, the place for  
excellence and talent:  
In all the world no one can point out another such region.*

This ode too runs to some length. Further, an Arab poet has said:

*Baghdād is a fine place for him who has wealth,  
But for those who are poor it is an abode of wretchedness and  
restraint. [۳۷]*

Lastly, I myself too wrote this quatrain:

*Baghdād is a good place, but only for him  
Who has the means to attain his heart's desire.  
Such an one can pass his precious life with a boon companion,  
And will not lose one single moment of youth.*

A great number of other descriptions of Baghdād have been uttered and occur to my mind, but these few specimens will here suffice.

<sup>1</sup> Something has been omitted here; for there is a blank in the older MSS. These terms are not explained in the dictionaries; the first is often given as *Afranchah*.

## CHAPTER V

The chief cities of Arabian 'Irāq. Anbār, and the captive Jews. Babyloſ. Baſrah, its foundation. The Great Mosque : miracle of its Minaret. Companions buried here. The Ubullah Canal and the Tigris Estuary. Dates and Date groves of Baſrah. Districts round 'Abbādān. Towns near Bayāt. Takrīt and its caſtle. The 'Aqarqūf hill. Hīllah and the ſhrine of the Expected Imām. Hīrah and the palaces of Khawarnaq and Sadīr. The Dujayl diſtrict. Rūmīyah. Sāmarrāh and its palaces. The Great Mosque and the Malwīyah Minaret. Ba'qūbā and the Nahrawān Canal. 'Ukbarā or 'Askarah. The Caſtle of Shīrīn and its milk conduit. Muḥawwal and the Mosquito Charm. Madāīn, chief of the Seven Cities. The Great Bridge. The Palace of the Chosroes. Maṣſūr's attempt to demolish it. Its ſhattered Arch. Shrine of Salmān the Perſian. The 'Iſā Canal. Nahrawān. Hit and the bitumen ſprings. Wāſiṭ

**Anbār.** A town of the Third Clime, lying on the eaſtern bank of the Euphrates. King Luhrāſp the Kayāniyan built it as a priſon for the captive (Jews) whom Nebuchadnezzar had brought here from Jeruſalem. For this reaſon was it named Anbār (meaning the Barn, or Jail). King Sapor II rebuilt the city, and Saffāḥ the firſt of the Abbasid Caliphs founded here many mighty edifices, making it his capital. The circuit of its walls is 5000 paces. In climate and produce, alſo in the manners and cuſtoms of its peoples, it reſembles Baghdād. Its revenue is 10,000 (dīnārs)<sup>1</sup>, and this is paid over to the Baghdād Treasuſy.

**Bābīl (Bābylon).** This is of the Third Clime, and it is one of the Seven Cities of (Arabian) 'Irāq. It ſtands on the eaſtern bank of the Euphrates, and was founded by Cainan ſon of Enos, ſon of Seth, ſon of Adam. King Ṭahmūrath, Binder of Demons, the Piſhdādian reſtored it, making it a very great city. Later it became the capital of Nimrod and of (Dahḥāk) Zuḥāk the ſon of 'Alwān. Further Zuḥāk built here a caſtle which was known as Kang Dizh, the remains of which are now merely a mound ; and in this city were many magicians. After the days of Zuḥāk the Kings of Canaan made it their capital, and after it had fallen to decay Alexander the Great reſtored its buildings, but theſe have now again gone to ruin. It is at the preſent time a dependency of Hīllah. On the ſummit of a mound where ſtood of old the citadel of the city, there is a deep pit, and Qazvīnī ſtates that (the two fallen angels) Hārūt and Mārūt are here imprifoned ; but in other works it is reported that theſe fallen angels are imprifoned in the Brimſtone Pit on Mount Damāvand.

<sup>1</sup> Here and elſewhere currency dīnārs are to be underſtood.

**Bazār-ar-Rūz.** The revenues of this place amount to 20,000 (dīnārs). It is of the Third Clime, and its revenues aforesaid belong to the Treasury.

**Başrah.** This city is of the Third Clime, and its foundation dates from the early days of Islam. Its longitude is  $74^{\circ}$ , and its latitude  $30^{\circ}$ . The city was founded in the year 15 (636) of the Hījah by the Caliph ‘Omar, and ‘Utbah [ع] ibn Ghazwān laid out the plan. Its Friday Mosque was built by ‘Abd-Allah ibn ‘Āmir of unburnt bricks, and Ziyād the son of (the Caliph Mu-‘āwiyah) faced these with burnt tiles. It was further enlarged by the Caliph ‘Alī, and of him it is related that in order to obtain the true direction of the Qiblah he, with his blessed hand, lifted up on high the master builder, and by a miracle caused him to see plainly the Ka‘bah (at Mecca), whereby the direction of the Qiblah-point was exactly laid. It is further said that any Friday Mosque which it is attempted to build of a larger plan than this mosque of Başrah, that mosque never reaches completion; for however much they may urge on the building one side of it will always collapse. An instance of this may be seen in the New Friday Mosque at Shīrāz, of which one portion is ever falling to the ground. In the mosque at Başrah is a minaret of which it is reported that if any go there, and adjure it with an oath in the name of (the Caliph) ‘Alī, and shall cry out, ‘Let the Minaret tremble (if this be the truth, and if not) let it be still,’ it will act accordingly, for although it is indeed a matter contrary to reason, yet in what pertains to any miracle wrought by the Caliph ‘Alī reason does not enter. At Başrah are the tombs of Talah and of Zubayr, which are much venerated and visited, also the shrines of many other of the Companions (of the Prophet), such as Anas ibn Mālik, who was the last of them to survive, he only dying in the year 91 (710)<sup>1</sup>. Of the Followers (of the Companions) also there are many buried here, as for instance Ḥasan Baṣrī, Ibn Sīrīn, famous for his interpretation of dreams<sup>2</sup>, Sufyān Thawrī, and Abū Dāūd Sijistānī, the third of the great Masters of Tradition; besides others who are beyond count.

The climate of Başrah by day is extremely warm, but at night it is relatively cooler. The water in its wells is brackish, but a fine canal comes thither from the Tigris Estuary: this is called the Nahr Ubullah, and it is near four leagues in length. The domain of Başrah contains many orchards, and the land of these orchards being high, the water of the Tigris Estuary stays in its ditches; but daily, at the high tide at sea, the water rises in the Estuary, and by this therefore all the Başrah orchards are irrigated. The orchards extend for near 30 leagues in the length by two leagues in the breadth, and by reason of the thickness of the trees you can

<sup>1</sup> But see above, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khallikān, II. 586.

nowhere see through for a space of more than a hundred ells. The charm of this place is one of the wonders of the whole world. The Baṣrah dates are excellent, and they are exported even to India and to Nearer and Further China. The people of Baṣrah are dark-skinned, and they are of the sect of the Twelve Imāms: their language is Arabic, but corrupt, and Persian also is spoken there. [۳۹] The province has many districts and among the largest are Balās and Zakīyah<sup>1</sup>. Also Maysān, which same is the place whereon Iblīs—be he accursed—fell; it was founded by King Bahman ibn Isfandiyār, and later was restored by Alexander the Great. Then there is 'Abbādān, beyond which there are no more habitations, as is recorded in the (well-known) line, 'There is no village beyond 'Abbādān.' The longitude of 'Abbādān is 84° 20', and its latitude 29° 20'; and concerning its excellencies many Traditions are reported, for it was accounted one of the frontier places of the Moslem lands over against the infidel Hindus. The revenues of Baṣrah and its dependencies, in the time prior to the late disturbances, amounted to 441,000 currency dīnārs.

**Bandanījīn.** In the Registers of the taxes this place is called Laḥf, and in common speech the first mentioned name is pronounced Bandīyān (or Wandīnān). It is a small town, and in climate and produce is just the opposite of Bayāt. Its revenues amount to 76,000 dīnārs.

**Bayāt.** This is a provincial capital. Bādarāyā and Bākūsāyā are two similar towns, which with some other places are of the dependencies of Bayāt. In climate and produce all these are like other places in Arabian 'Irāq. In Bayāt the streams of running water are all brackish, but in the underground channels, which come<sup>6</sup> from a distance of a league away, the water is sweet and fit for drinking. The revenue of Bayāt amounts to 46,000 currency dīnārs, and in Bādarāyā much sugar-cane is grown.

**Takrīt.** This is of the Fourth Clime; its longitude is 77° 20', and its latitude 34° 30'. It is a medium sized town, standing on the west bank of the Tigris. It is 6100 paces in circuit, and has a strong castle built on the river bank. Its climate is healthy, and of fruits the melon is here excellent. It is said that they sow in each year three crops.

**'Aqarqūf Mound.** This was built by king Kay Kāus, whom many account to be the same as Nimrod: and he built it because when he had thrown Abraham into the fiery furnace he came up hither to prove him.

**Ḥadīthah.** (The new Town, on the Tigris.) This is of the Fourth Clime, and in climate and products [۴۰] is the opposite of Takrīt.

<sup>1</sup> Not mentioned by other authorities.

**Harbā.** This is a town of medium size, and it receives its water (by a canal) from the Tigris. It has many orchards, and its revenues amount to 25,100 dīnārs.

**Hillah.** This is of the Third Clime, and it is a city founded since the days of Islam. Its longitude is  $79^{\circ} 40'$ , and its latitude  $31^{\circ} 50'$ . It was built by the Amīr Sayf-ad-Dawlah Ṣadaqah Maṣṣūr ibn Dubays Asadī during the reign of the Caliph Qāim, in the year 436 (1044)<sup>1</sup>. The river Euphrates divides the town; most of its houses are on the western bank, with but a few on the eastern side. It has many palm groves, and for this cause its climate is close. For the most part provisions are cheap here, and its lands produce much the same crops as those of Baghdād. Its people are in religion of the sect of the Twelve Imāms. They are fair-skinned, and corpulent of body, like the people of Baghdād, and their speech is corrupt Arabic. In matters of religion they are very bigoted. They have made in Hillah a shrine where, according to their belief, the Expected Imām Mahdī—Muḥammad son of Ḥasan al 'Askarī—will again appear, he (as is well known) having disappeared (from human sight) at Sāmarrah in the year 264 (878). The revenues of Hillah belong to the Treasury.

**Hulwān.** Of the Fourth Clime. It is one of the Seven Cities of Arabian 'Irāq, lying in longitude  $82^{\circ} 55'$  and latitude  $34^{\circ}$ . Qubād, son of Fīrūz the Sassanian, founded it. It is now ruined, and only a portion of the lands are cultivated. Among its shrines, however, is the tomb of Ḥamzah<sup>2</sup>, sixth of the Seven Qurān Readers. Some thirty villages are of its domain; and the taxes amount to 6100 dīnārs.

**Hirah.** Of the Third Clime, and one of the Seven Cities of Arabian 'Irāq. It was formerly a great city, lying one league distant from Kūfah, but it is now a ruin. Sadīr and Khawarnaq, which are so often mentioned in poetry, and in narrations and conversations among the people, were two Kiosks which Nu'mān ibn Mundhir built here for King Bahrām Gūr. Their ruins still exist, and they were lofty buildings of which the poet speaks in the following verses: [٤١]

*The tribes of Kaḥṭān found their glory and their legends on  
Bahrām Gūr :*

*And by his palace of Khawarnaq and Sadīr, men recognise  
the fashion of their rule.*

**Khālīṣ.** Though now gone to ruin, this is still a most fruitful district lying on the Nahravān Canal; having 30 villages in its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 73,000 dīnārs.

**Khāniqīn.** This was formerly a provincial capital, but is now

<sup>1</sup> The date should be 495 (1102) and during the reign of the Caliph Mustazhir.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khallikān, I. 478.

a mere village. The Ḥulwān river passes through it : and 20 villages are of its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 12,200 dinārs.

**Dujayl.** This is a considerable district which receives its water from the Tigris (Dijlah), and hence it is called Dujayl (the Little Tigris). The provincial capital of Wānah is its chief town, and it has fine villages to the number of near a hundred. The crops are excellent, and pomegranates, known as the *Darrājī*, are better here than in any other part of the Baghdād district. The revenues of this district amount to 35,000 dinārs.

**Daqūq.** Of the Fourth Clime. A medium sized town, with a climate that is the best in all Arabian 'Irāq. In its neighbourhood are naphtha springs. Its revenues amount to 78,600 dinārs.

**Dayr 'Āqūl.** A small town lying between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ, having a close climate on account of its palm groves.

**Rūmiyah.** Of the Third Clime. It is one of the Seven Cities of Arabian 'Irāq, having been built by King Anūshīrvān the Just opposite Madāin, and on the exact plan of Antioch (in Syria). It is now a ruin.

**Rādhān and Bayn-an-Nahrayn.** These are two districts lying on the Nahrawān Canal, having excellent crops. Their revenues amount to 50,000 dinārs<sup>1</sup>.

**Zangiābād.** A district lying to the west of Khāniqīn. Its revenues amount to 11,500 dinārs.

**Sāmarrah.** Of the Fourth Clime, and lying on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Its gardens, with some of its buildings and villages, also occupy the western bank. Its longitude is 79° 54', and its latitude 34° 5'. [18] It was originally founded by Sapor II, and seeing that in climate it was the best of all the lands of Arabian 'Irāq, it came to be known as Surra-man-ra'a (meaning 'Who sees it rejoices'), but afterwards it fell to ruin. Then the Caliph Mu'tasim, son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, took in hand to restore the buildings, and made it his capital. In his days it attained such grandeur that its palaces and the surrounding houses covered a space measuring seven leagues in the length by one league in the breadth. By his orders they filled the nose-bags of his horses with earth, and brought their contents to form a hill, which hence was known as Tall-al-Makhālī (Nosebag-hill); thereon he built a high kiosk. Further he built the Friday Mosque in Sāmarrah, and set in the midst of its court a basin formed of one block of stone, this basin measuring 23 ells in circumference, with a height of 7 ells, and it was half an ell in thickness. This basin was known as Pharaoh's Cup; and in all the country round

<sup>1</sup> Rādhān is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādhbih, Bayn-an-Nahrayn is apparently noticed by no other authority; its name implies that it lay 'betwixt the (Nahrawān) Canal and the River (Tigris).'

for more than thirty leagues distant, there is no such block of stone found. Further he built a Minaret for the mosque, 170 ells in height, with a gangway (to ascend it, that went up) outside<sup>1</sup>, and no Minaret after this fashion was ever built by any one before his time. In front of this mosque stands the tomb of the Imām ʿAlī an-Naqī, grandson of the (Eighth) Imām ʿAlī-ar-Ridā; also of his son the (Eleventh) Imām Ḥasan ʿAskarī. The Caliph Muta-wakkil enlarged Sāmarrah, and in particular he built a magnificent Kiosk, greater than which never existed in the lands of Īrān, and he gave it the title of the Jaʿfariyyah (his name being Jaʿfar). But evil fortune—brought down on him in that he had laid in ruins the tomb of the Imām Ḥusayn son of ʿAlī (at Kar-balā)<sup>2</sup>, and furthermore had prevented people from making their visitation to the same—decreed that, shortly after his death, his Kiosk (of the Jaʿfariyyah) should be demolished, so that no trace of it now remains. Indeed, of Sāmarrah itself, at the present time, only a restricted portion is inhabited.

**Ṣadrayn**<sup>3</sup>. A district that produces much corn, dates and grain. It gets its water from the Euphrates, and its revenues amount to 30,000 dīnārs.

**Ṭarīq-i-Khurāsān** (The Khurasan Road). This is a considerable district, and its chief town is Baʿqūbā, which was founded by a Princess of the family of the Chosroes whose name was Qūbā. It was at first called Bayʿat Qūbā (the Church of Qūbā), but in course of time this became shortened to Baʿqūbā. It lies on the Nahrawān Canal, and a stream from this passes through the city. All its villages take their irrigation, for agriculture, from the Canal, and there are many orchards and palm-groves in the district. Innumerable oranges and citrons are grown here, so that from three to four hundred oranges may be had for a dirham. Its climate resembles that of Baghdād, but is more malarious, by reason of its [۱۷] numerous palm-groves. The towns of Bājisrā and Shahrābān (City of Ābān), which last was founded by a princess of the family of the Chosroes whose name was Ābān, are of its district: also the places known as Mahrūd and Ṭābaq; and in the neighbourhood there are more than 80 villages. The revenues of this district amount to 164,000 dīnārs as inscribed in the Registers.

**ʿĀnah**. Of the Fourth Clime: its longitude is 76° 30', and its latitude 34° 5'. It is a medium sized town with many suburbs, and in climate and produce is the opposite of the Dujayl district.

**ʿUkbarā** or **ʿAskarah**<sup>4</sup>. This place was built by Sapor II. It was a city formerly, but now is in ruin.

<sup>1</sup> Still existing under the name of the Malwīyah tower.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Not mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> There is some uncertainty in the reading of the name. If ʿAskarah be the true reading, then this is probably to be identified with ʿAskar-al-Muʿtaṣim (Muʿtaṣim's



**Qaṣr Shīrīn.** Of the Third Clime; built by King Khusraw Parvīz for his Queen Shīrīn. It was a mighty castle, of uncut stone, mortared, and it was 2000 paces in circuit. To the westward of the castle stood a custom-house, also built by Khusraw Parvīz, and a mighty and high guest-house, for the accommodation of those who came and went. Of this guest-house but little now remains. The Hulwān river flows by the place, and its climate is unwholesome for in the hot season at most times the (hot) Simūm wind blows. They had constructed a raised conduit, in which they say milk used to flow so that the water might run down to the custom-house, and it may be that they used to throw skins of milk into the conduit, and so serve both the custom-house and the castle. Where, however, the mouth of the stream is situated there are no fit pasture lands for cattle, seeing that only poisonous herbs grow here.

**Qādisīyah** (of the Tigris), a medium sized town, and one of the Seven Cities of Arabian 'Irāq. It is now a ruin.

**Qūsān**<sup>1</sup>. A medium sized town, with near a hundred villages of its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 94,000 dīnārs.

**Muḥawwal.** A small town lying two leagues distant to the west of Baghdād, on the banks of the 'Īsā Canal. Its orchards are the continuation of the gardens of Baghdād. The (Abbasid) Caliphs built many fine palaces here, and in particular there was [44] a Kiosk, built for the Caliph Mu'taṣim, where, because it stood in the midst of gardens, the mosquitoes had been numerous: until it was laid under a spell that prevented any single one of them from entering the building. The revenues of Muḥawwal are reckoned in with those of the 'Īsā Canal district.

**Madāin.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude 82° and in latitude 38° 51'. It was founded by King Ṭahmūrath, the Demon-binder, of the Pīshdādian dynasty, who named it Girdābād, and it was completed by Jamshīd, who named it Ṭaysafūn (Ctesiphon). It was the largest of the Seven Cities of Arabian 'Irāq, for which reason it in particular was known as Madāin (meaning 'the Cities'), —the six other cities are Qādisīyah, Rūmiyah, Hīrah, Bābil, Hulwān, and Nahrawān. All seven are now in ruins. King Jamshīd, the Pīshdādian, built over the Tigris at Madāin an arched bridge of stone and brick. This bridge Alexander the Greek destroyed, saying that it was a too great relic of the Persian Kings. Ardashīr Bābakān, when he rebuilt the city (of Madāin) making it his capital, desired also to rebuild this bridge, but could not accomplish it, therefore he made a bridge (of boats) with chains. After his time most of the Chosroes made Madāin their capital. Sapor II raised many buildings in this city, and Anū-

Camp), an outlying quarter of Sāmarrāh, from which Ḥasan-al-'Askarī, the Eleventh Imām, took his name.

<sup>1</sup> The district of the two Zāb canals, of which Nu'māniyyah was the chief town.

shirvān the Just constructed the Hall of the Chosroes. This was a palace, built of brick and mortar, mightier than which none had ever been built by man: and the poet Buḥturī has described it in the following verses :

*The Hall of the Chosroes is of such wondrous work, it is as though  
It were a piece cut from the rugged flank of a mountain,  
It is a height that dominates, and its battlements  
Overpass the summits of Raḍwā and Quds (the mountains of Medina):  
It is not known whether this be a work made by men for the Jinn  
To inhabit, or a work made by the Jinn for man.*

The court of the palace measured 150 ells square—of the Tailor ells: and there was here a great vestibule, the opening of which was 42 ells across, running back 82 ells, while in height it was 65 ells. All round this palace were lesser palaces, and many other buildings worthy of it, and referring to the just conduct of its builder and the strength of the building a poet has written this couplet : [٤٠]

*See therefore the reward of good deeds, for Time  
Has not even now laid in ruin the palace of Chosroes.*

The Caliph Manṣūr, when he was about to build Baghdād, desired to demolish this Hall of the Chosroes, and construct the houses of Baghdād from its materials: so he took counsel of his Wazīr Sulaymān ibn Khālīd<sup>1</sup> on the subject. His Wazīr, however, urged the Caliph against so doing, assuring him that for all time men would say 'here was a king who, wanting to build a city, was unable to do so until he had laid in ruins another city.' But Manṣūr would not give heed, saying that in his heart he (the Wazīr) was still devoted to the remembrance of the Chosroes, and that hence he was unwilling that such a monument of their greatness should be brought to naught. The Caliph therefore ordered the demolition to be begun, but soon discovered that the materials obtained from Madāin did not repay the cost of demolition and carriage (to Baghdād). He thereupon would have counter-ordered the demolition; but the Wazīr now urged him to continue the work, saying that it must be carried through until the demolition was quite completed, lest the people should say 'one king built it, and another was not even capable of demolishing it.' Now (as is well known) the Arch of this Hall was shattered by his miracle on the night of the birth of the Prophet; and this same passed

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the Wazīr was Khālīd the Barmecide: a Persian by origin.

as a mighty portent, and an irrefragable proof of the prophetic office of Muḥammad our Prophet; and as long as this (shattered) arch shall stand, the testimony of the miracle cannot be ignored in the sight of men. Further it was thereby made known to all men that against him who had built this palace, and whose head when he stood there used to reach the roof thereof, one should arise to overthrow the family of this same man who had built this palace, and that the prophetic office of this last must needs be from God, and not a vain thing.

At the present day the (ancient) city of Madāin is in ruin. On the western river bank there is a (new) provincial capital built, but on the eastern side there are no (unruined) buildings standing, except the shrine of (the Prophet's Companion) Salmān the Persian, which is situated over against the Hall of the Chosroes. Now the wells in those parts—as is the case in Baghdād—had bitter brackish water, and, as a miracle performed by Salmān, they report that when he died and his body came to be washed, the bucket fell down to the bottom of the well here, and no other bucket was to be had. Thereupon the water of this well rose up to its brim, and it became sweet, until, when they had finished the washing of the corpse, the water again sank back to its former place. It however remained sweet ever after, and except for this [11] well there is no other that has sweet water in all this region.

**Ma'bādiyyah**<sup>1</sup>. Of great saints there are buried here our master Aḥmad the Great, and our master Abū-l-Wafā.

**The 'Isā Canal.** This was dug by 'Īsā, the son of the Caliph Maṣṣūr's uncle Mūsā. It was taken from the Euphrates, and he laid out villages and farms along its bank, to the number of some seventy, and their produce was abundant. The district called after the Caliph Mustanṣir, and the villages that lie on the side over against Baghdād, are watered by the tributaries of the 'Īsā Canal. Its revenues, with these dependencies, amount to 876,505 dīnārs.

**Nahr Malik** (The Royal Canal). Some say this was dug by King Solomon, others name Manūchihr the Pishdadian, others again Alexander the Great; but the true version is that Sapor, grandson of Darius, who is known as Sapor the Great, caused this canal to be made from the Euphrates (to the Tigris), and built villages on its banks. There are still here more than 300 villages and farms, which give abundant produce, and its revenues amount to 50,000 dīnārs.

**Nahrawān.** A great town, and one of the Seven Cities of Arabian 'Irāq. It is of the Third Clime, and stands on the bank of the Tāmarrah Canal, which here takes the name of Nahrawān.

<sup>1</sup> A blank occurs after this name in the older MSS. The place is not apparently noticed by any other authority; and as a matter of fact Abū-l-Wafā died at Baghdād.

The town is now in ruins; and its territory is counted as part of the Jalûlâ lands, being of the dependencies of Ba<sup>c</sup>qûbâ.

**Nu<sup>c</sup>māniyyah.** This is a provincial town, lying half way between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ. It stands on the Tigris bank, and it possesses many palm-groves.

**Nîl.** This is a district, and some villages are of its dependencies. It produces much corn, and its gardens and palm-groves are numerous.

**Hît.** This is a town, with a strong castle, standing on the western bank of the Euphrates. It has thirty villages and dependencies; and from Jubbah down to Hît, for 15 leagues the palm-groves are continuous. At Hît on both banks of the Euphrates there are gardens, also palm-groves here are numerous and the fruit produced is abundant. In the village of Jubbah, which is of its dependencies, the climate is temperate, whereby nuts and almonds, dates and oranges, grow together in every garden, as also [٤٧] other fruits of both cold and hot countries. In Hît, however, it is almost impossible to live on account of the evil smell of the bitumen spring.

**Wāsiṭ.** This is a city built since the times of Islam. It is of the Third Clime, its longitude being 81° 30', and its latitude 31° 20'. It was founded by (the great Omayyad viceroy) Ḥaj-jāj in the year 83 (702), and lies on the Tigris, for the most part on the western bank. It has many palm-groves, and for this reason its climate is somewhat damp. Its revenues belong to the Treasury, and amount to 448,500 dīnārs.

## CHAPTER VI

Persian 'Irāq : size, chief cities, frontiers and revenues. Iṣfahān, the four original villages. Climate and produce. The river Zandah-Rūd. College of Sultan Muḥammad, the Indian Idol. Evil ways of the Iṣfahānis. Tradition of the Prophet. The Eight Districts. Distances from Iṣfahān. Ray : anecdotes. Foundation of Ray, its later history. The four districts of Ray and their villages. Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-Azīm : other saints buried here. Tīhrān and Varamīn. Sultāniyyah, its foundation, made the capital. Distances from Sultāniyyah. Qazvīn. Traditions concerning this city. Foundation and early history. The three Citadels. The walls. Other Traditions. Climate and produce. Sects. Saints and holy men buried in Qazvīn. Adjacent villages. Revenues

SECTION 2. Describing the Province of Persian 'Irāq : and this province contains nine tūmāns<sup>1</sup> where there are forty cities. For the most part its climate is temperate, but some regions are colder and some hotter. Its frontiers lie contiguous with the following provinces : Ādharbāyjān, Kurdistān, Khūzistān, Fārs, the Great Desert, Qūmis and the Gīlāns. In length it is 160 leagues from the river Safid Rūd to Yazd, and in breadth it is 100 leagues from the Gīlān provinces to Khūzistān. Of old there were in (Persian) 'Irāq four notable cities ; as a poet has told in the following verses :

*Four cities there are in 'Irāq, and, by way of appraisalment,  
Of each the length and breadth is a hundred (leagues), by a  
hundred, and not less ;  
Isfahān, concerning which all people in the world are agreed  
That, in all Climes, there is no other city so great as this ;  
Hamadān, in matter of climate, a place fit for kings,  
Than which in the whole world there is no pleasanter place ;  
Qum which is relatively less than these, but which all the same,  
If it be not very good, is still not very bad ;  
But the mine of manhood, the quarry of munificence, and the  
king of cities  
Is Ray, the like of which is to be found nowhere else in the  
world.*

The revenues of the province of (Persian) 'Irāq in the year 35 of the Khānī Era (A.D. 1335) amounted in sum total to 350,000 (currency dīnārs). [41] But I have seen an account in the hand-

<sup>1</sup> Tūmān, meaning 10,000, here is used to denote a district that provided this number of men for the Mongol armies.

writing of my great-grandfather, the late Amīn-ad-Dīn Naṣīr Mustawfī, who was Accountant to the Treasury of °Irāq in the times of the Saljūqs, and according to this document Persian °Irāq in those days, paid in the currency of to-day, 25,200,000<sup>1</sup> and odd (currency dīnārs). At the present time, however, by reason of the ruin of the country, this sum is reduced to what has been given above.

**Iṣfahān.** This has two tūmāns (or districts), and they comprise three cities, Iṣfahān, Fīrūzān and Fārifaān.

Iṣfahān is generally counted as of the Fourth Clime, though according to its latitude and longitude geographers would place it in the Third: for its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is 76° 40', and its latitude is 32° 25'. Originally there were four villages on its site, named Karrān, Kūshk, Jūbārah and Dardasht. These, with their adjacent lands, had been established here, according to some, by King Ṭahmūrath the Pīshdādian, according to others by Jamshīd, or by Alexander the Great. Then Kay Qubād, the first Kayānian king, made this his capital, and the number of the inhabitants so increased that they built villages outside, which by degrees coalesced and formed a great city. Rukn-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, gave Iṣfahān walls, and these in circuit measure 21,000 paces. It was built when the sign of Sagittarius was in the ascendant. The city has forty-four quarters and gates. Its climate is temperate; in summer and winter the heat or cold is never so excessive that anyone is kept from his business thereby. Earthquakes, or thunderbolts, or rains that cause damage, very seldom occur here. Its earth takes a long time before it causes any dead thing to disappear; and any grain, or the like, that the soil produces, comes well to maturity, and for many years will not spoil. Chronic maladies and the plague are rare here.

The Zandah-Rūd river flows by outside the city on the south-western side, and from this canals are brought which pass through the town. The water of its wells is come to at a depth of from five to six ells; and this water is nearly as good, for wholesomeness and taste, as the water of the river. Any seed that is brought hither from another country and sown here, for the most part will yield better fruit than in its own land, and the crop will in no case be less; except it be the pomegranate, which does not ripen well here, and this is because the climate of Iṣfahān is too good, the pomegranate in fact only doing well [49] in a noisome climate. The price fixed for corn and other grain is here always moderate, and fruit is extremely cheap in the market. Wheat and other summer crops are excellent; fruit too is extremely delicate, more particularly apples, quinces, Balkhī and

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. give 2,568,000 dīnārs.

'Othmānī pears, yellow plums and apricots. Water-melons are very sweet, and all these fruits, also, because of their sweetness, unless water be drunk with them, the stomach cannot easily digest. Also to eat much of them is unwholesome. The fruits from here are exported to India and to Greece. Iṣfahān has rich pasture lands, and every four-footed beast that is fattened here becomes twice as strong as it would if fattened elsewhere. There are many meadow-lands too: and the extent of these is unrivalled. There are many good hunting-grounds also, as for example in the Gāv Khānī marsh, where all kinds of game are found.

In Iṣfahān are many colleges and Darvīsh-houses and pious foundations. Among these is the college where Sultān Muḥammad the Saljūq is buried. In the Julbārah Quarter there is a stone of about 10,000 *Mann*-weight, which was originally the principal idol of India: the (Indians) would fain have bought this back for one-tenth its weight in pearls, but the Sultān would neither sell nor give it, but brought it hither, and, for the fame of Islam, had it laid as the threshold at the gate of this College. The people of Iṣfahān are fair-skinned, and they are courageous. The majority of the population is Sunnī, of the Shāfi'ite sect, and they perform their religious duties very exactly. Most of the time, however, these people do nothing but wrangle and dispute, and here never for a moment is the clash of opposing opinions absent. Hence, when these opposing opinions are rife, all the pleasant conditions of this city of Iṣfahān cannot compensate for the evil results of such strife: as a poet for example has said in these lines:

*Iṣfahān is a townlet full of good things,  
Naught is needful there save youth (to enjoy them).  
Everything here is good, except  
That there ought to be no Iṣfahānīs therein.*

The poet Kamāl-ad-Dīn Isma'īl Iṣfahānī further wrote these following verses:

*While Dardasht exists and Jūbārah,  
There will be no lack of battling and slaughter; [°.]  
O Lord of the Seven Planets!—thither  
Do thou send a blood-thirsty army,  
Which shall make Dardasht a wilderness,  
And cause a stream of blood to flow down from Jūbārah;  
And increase the number of people in both of them,  
And cut every one of them into two hundred pieces.*

A Tradition of the Prophet, as reported by 'Abd-Allah ibn Abbās, says that *The Antichrist, coming forth from Yahūdiyyah of Iṣfahān, will proceed to Kūfah; and there will go to meet him*

people from Medina, and people from Sinai, and people from the Yamān country, and people from Qazvīn. It was asked of him O Prophet but what is Qazvīn? he answered: They are a people who at the end of time will come forth zealously into the world, and by their means God will bring back another people from infidelity to faith.

The revenues of Isfahān belong to the Treasury, and in the year 35 of the Khānī Ēra (A.D. 1335) they amounted to 350,000 (currency dīnārs). The territory of Isfahān comprises eight districts, with 400 villages, and there are besides this many cultivated lands that belong to these villages. The first district is Jay<sup>1</sup>, which lies immediately round the city, and comprises 75 villages. Of these Ṭihrān, Mārbānān and Jādvān are the most important, with Shahrīstān, which is now known as the New Town of Isfahān, and which, having been founded by Alexander the Great, was restored by King Fīrūz the Sassanian. The second district is that of Mārbīn which comprises 58 villages. The most important of these are Khūzān, Qurīṭān, Ranān, and Andavaān; and in truth all this district is like a single garden from the mass of adjacent orchards and villages which lie one beyond the other: even as has been said in the couplet:

*Mārbīn is in truth a copy of the (Garden of) Iram  
And the sun is as like to it, as a Dirham is to a Dirham.*

In this district stands the castle which King Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder founded. It was called Ātashgāh (Place of Fire), and here Bahman son of Isfandiyār erected a Fire-temple. The third district is Karārīj, with 33 villages; of these the largest are Dashtah, Ishkāvand and Fīzādān<sup>2</sup>, and this district too is like one great garden from the mass of trees that surround all its villages. The fourth district is Qahāb, containing 40 villages, of which the largest are Hafshūbah, [٠١] Rāzanān, and Qahjāristān. It gets its water from underground channels, and this is the origin of its name, for Qah-āb (means district of the Qah water-channels)<sup>3</sup>. The fifth district is that of Barkhuvār, and it contains 32 villages, of which the largest is the village of Jaz (Gez). This district (like Qahāb) has its water from underground channels; while the other districts get theirs from the river Zindah-Rūd. In this district, near the village of Jaz, King Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, built a Fire-temple. The sixth district is that of Lanjān; it contains 20 villages, of which the largest are Gavnān, Qahdarijān and

<sup>1</sup> For these districts and their villages, see *Eastern Persian 'Irāq* by General Sir A. Houtum-Schindler (1897), pp. 125, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Now apparently called Pīdān or Pūdān.

<sup>3</sup> The word *Qah*, which also occurs in the names of Qah-jāristān and Qah-darijān, means an underground water-channel in the Isfahānī dialect, being what in Persian is called a *Kārīz*, otherwise (Arabic) *Qanāt*.



Gulishād. The seventh district is that of Baraān, with 80 villages, of which the largest are Askishān, Barsiyān, Ranin, Samnārat, Jūzdān, Fasārān, Kūmān, Kākh and Dādmān. The eighth district is that of Rūdasht, with 60 villages. Of this district Farifaān is the chief town, and the largest of its villages are Qūlītān, Varzanah, Askarān and Kumandān<sup>1</sup>.

All these great hamlets, which are cited above as villages, are of a size that in other provinces would be called towns; for in each of these aforesaid villages there are upwards of a thousand houses, with markets, mosques, colleges and Darvish-houses, and each has its own bath-houses. The revenues of the districts of Iṣfahān amount to 500,000 (currency dīnārs). Among the best-known shrines of holy men is the tomb of Shaykh 'Alī Sahl Iṣfahānī.

From Iṣfahān to the various other places in Persian 'Irāq the distances are according to what follows: Ardistān 34 leagues, Īdhaj of Great Lur 45 leagues, Burūjird of Little Lur 66 leagues, Jurbādaqān 31½ leagues, Dalījān 35 leagues, Ray 86 leagues, Fīrūzān city 6 leagues, Sāvah 64 leagues, Sultāniyyah 106½ leagues, [۰۲] Qazvīn 92 leagues, Qum 52 leagues, Qūmishah in Fārs 14 leagues, Kāshān 32 leagues, Karaj 45 leagues, Lūrdagān of Great Lur 35 leagues, Naṭanz 21 leagues, Nāyin 26 leagues, Nihāvand 74 leagues, Hamadān 62 leagues, Yazd 62 leagues.

**Fīrūzān.** This is a city that stands on both banks of the river Zindah-Rūd above Iṣfahān, being of the Third Clime. Its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is 86° 18', and its latitude north of the equator 32° 24'. It is now counted as part of Iṣfahān. It was founded by King Gayūmarth. In climate and as to crops, fruits, production of cotton and other such like, also as regards the manners and customs and religion of its inhabitants, in all these matters it resembles Iṣfahān. Its revenues amount to 134,500 (currency dīnārs).

**The tūmān of Ray.** Except for Ray there was in this district formerly no other great city; but now that Ray is become a ruin Varāmīn has grown to be a city, and there are many other country towns, the mention of which will follow, each one of which has grown into a market-town. The revenues of Ray amounted to 7,000,000 (currency dīnārs), and it was such an important place that in the early times (of Islam) 'Omar ibn Sa'd—on whom be the curse of God—was made governor here who afterwards, as is well known to all, was the cause of the death of the Commander of the Faithful, Ḥusayn son of 'Alī.

**Ray.** Of the Fourth Clime, the Mother of the Cities of Īrān, and for its antiquity also called 'the Shaykh of Cities.' Its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is 76° 20', and its latitude north of the equator 35° 30'. Its climate is warm, for to the north

<sup>1</sup> Many of the names in the foregoing lists are uncertain, as may be seen by the variants given in notes to the text.

it is closed in (by the mountains), and the air here is damp. Its water is not wholesome : and the plague appears here frequently ; as indeed is referred to in these lines :

*One morning tide I saw in sleep the Angel of Death  
Fleing barefooted from the hand of the Plague of Ray ;  
'Said I 'What, thou also ?' he replied  
'When Ray puts forth the hand  
What does poor Abū Yahyā weigh at the foot of Ray ?'*

Of witticisms it is related, that a man of Iṣfahān and one from Ray were boasting one against the other, each declaring for the superiority of his native place. Said the Iṣfahānī 'The earth of Iṣfahān [••] will not, for thirty or forty years, disintegrate the body of a dead man (buried in it).' The man of Ray responded 'The earth of Ray keeps a dead man thirty or forty years (chaffering) giving and taking at the door of his shop and does not drive him away';—and by this retort he silenced the Iṣfahānī.

The town of Ray was founded by the prophet Seth, son of Adam, and Hūshang the Pīshdādian added to its buildings, so that it became a great city. Then it fell to ruin, and Manūchihr, grandson of Farīdūn, rebuilt it, but again it became a ruin. In after time the Abbasid Caliph Mahdī restored its prosperity, making it a great city, so that it is said there were then 30,000 mosques and 2750 minarets in Ray, and the circuit of its walls was 12,000 paces. It was built under the influence of the Sign of the Scorpion, and the people of the town quarrelled (once) over a stone so fiercely that more than 100,000 men at length met their death by violence, and devastation thus soon began to make its way into the state of the town ; finally during the irruption of the Mongols it fell completely to ruin. Afterwards Malik Fakhr-ad-Dīn of Ray, in the reign of Ghāzān Khān, by Imperial command made a beginning of rebuilding the town, and brought some people back to inhabit it. The castle of Ṭabarāk lies on the north side of Ray at the foot of the mountain, and the district of Qaṣrān lies behind that mountain. There are other districts, as for example Marjabā and Qihā in the plain, and in total there are 360 villages belonging to Ray. Of these are the village of Dūlāb, also Qūsīn, Qaṣrān, Varsanīn and Fīrūzrām which was founded by King Fīrūz the Sassanian and is now called Fīrūzbarān. Then there are Varāmīn and Khāvah, which are of the Bahnām and Sabūr Qarj (districts), finally Qūhah (or Qūhad), Shandur<sup>1</sup>, Ṭīhrān and Fīrūzān, which last are the largest villages of the Ghār (district).

Further, Ray is divided into four districts<sup>2</sup>. Of these the first is called the Bahnām district, in which are 60 villages, and of

<sup>1</sup> Possibly a mistake for Shanshat.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is found in some MSS. only, and repeats the foregoing.

these Varāmīn and Khāvah are the largest. The second district is that of Sabūr Qarj, in which are 90 villages, and of these the largest are Qūhah (or Qūhad), Shandur, and Ayyān-i-Kayf. The third [••] district is that of Fashābūyah, in which are 30 villages, of which the largest are Kūshk, 'Alī-ābād, Kīlīn, Jirm and Qūch Āghāz. The fourth district is called Ghār (the Cave). Now the reason of its being so named is that a certain descendant of the Imāms, who was of the family of the (Seventh) Imām Mūsā-al-Kāzīm, was once being sought for in Ray that he might be slain; and he, fleeing from before those wicked men, came to a cave in the district of Jāl Kūlī, where he found shelter, and lay concealed from them. On this account, therefore, this district, in memory of the hiding of that holy man here, is at the present day called Ghār (the District of the Cave). There are here 40 villages, and the largest of these are Tīhrān and the Mashhad (Shrine) of the Imāmzādah Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan<sup>1</sup> who is known (by the title of) Jiyān: further the villages of Fīrūz Bahrām and Dawlatābād.

Corn and cotton grow well (in the Ray district), and give good returns. Abundance and cheapness are for the most part found here, while scarcity and dearness rarely befall, so that from this district corn and other provisions are exported to many other provinces. Of its fruits are the pomegranate, the pear, the 'Abbāsī (apple), and the peach, also excellent grapes: but over much eating of fruit there for travellers is not free from danger of fever. The population of Ray and its districts are, for the most part, Shī'ahs of the sect of the Twelve Imāms: except for the people of the village of Qūhad (or Qūhah), and a few other places near by who are (Sunnī) Ḥanafites. The inhabitants of the surrounding districts speak of this place (in scorn) as Qūhah-i-Kharān (that is to say, Qūhah of the Asses). In Ray many of the Family of the Prophet are buried, also numerous saints and notable folk, as for instance Ibrāhīm Khawwās, Kisāy the last of the Seven Qurān Readers, Muḥammad ibn al Ḥasan the juris-consult<sup>2</sup>, Hishām, the Shaykh Jamāl-ad-Dīn Abū-l-Futūḥ, and Javānmurd the Fuller. [••] The revenues of this province, with the districts of the tūmān, amount to 151,500 (currency) dīnārs.

**Tīhrān.** This is a famous provincial city. Its climate is better than that of Ray; its products are similar to those of the aforesaid place, and of old its population was very much larger than it is now.

<sup>1</sup> Commonly called Shāh 'Abd-al-'Azīm, whose shrine is still the most popular sanctuary of Tīhrān. According to the *Huṣṭ Iqlīm* (India Office MS. 724, folio 398 b), he was the son of Ḥasan (son of Zayd, son of Ḥasan, son of the Caliph 'Alī), who was Amīr of Medina in the time of the Caliph Maṇṣūr, and who died at Ray. The brother of this Ḥasan, an uncle therefore of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Azīm, was the Alid chief Ismā'īl—surnamed Ad-Dā'ī-al-Kabīr (the Great Missioner)—who, conjointly with his brother aforesaid, ruled Tabaristān for many years.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khallikān, II. 237, 590.

**Varāmīn.** This of old times was a village, but now it has become a provincial city, being indeed the capital of the tūmān of Ray. Its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is  $77^{\circ} 25'$ , and its latitude north of the equator  $35^{\circ} 29'$ . Its climate is better than that of Ray, and it produces cotton, and corn, and fruits, as the other town. Its population are Shi'ahs of the sect of the Twelve Imāms, and in their manners they are extremely haughty.

The tūmān of Sultāniyyah, and of Qazvīn. Formerly this tūmān was known by the name of Qazvīn; but now of late years, since the city of Sultāniyyah came to be founded, and has been made the capital of Īrān, because of its pre-eminence it is better to give priority to the name of the latter city. This tūmān comprises nine cities.

**Sultāniyyah.** Of the Fourth Clime, and a city built under Islam: its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is  $84^{\circ}$ , and its latitude north of the equator is  $39^{\circ}$ . The city was founded by Arghūn Khān, grandson of Hūlāgū the Mongol, and his son Uljaytū Sultān completed it, naming it Sultāniyyah after himself (he being the first of his family to call himself Sultān). It was built under the influence of the Sign of Leo. The walls which Arghūn built were 12,000 paces in circuit, while those which Uljaytū Sultān planned, but because of his early death did not live to complete, were to have been 30,000 paces round. In the centre stands a Castle built of cut stone, which is the tomb of Uljaytū Sultān; and there are many other buildings near by here, and the circuit of the Castle measures 2000 paces. The climate of Sultāniyyah is rather cold: its water is taken from wells and underground channels, and is of a digestive quality. The wells are from two or three, up to ten, ells in depth. Districts, of both the hot region, and the cold region, surround the town for the distance of a day's journey; and everything that a man may need is found present here and in abundance, the pastures being extremely rich and numerous, also the hunting-grounds are well stocked. There are at the present time so many great buildings in Sultāniyyah, that, except for Tabriz, the like thereof is seen in no other city. People also have migrated hither from many other provinces, to settle in the (new) capital, being [٠٦] of all nations and sects, whereby the language spoken at present here is not uniform, though it is mainly a mixed dialect of Persian. The revenues of the district belong to the Treasury, and of late years when the royal camps were here, the sum amounted to 300,000 (currency dīnārs), but at other times it is only 200,000. The distances from Sultāniyyah to the various other towns of Persian Īrāq are as follows: to Abhar 9 leagues, to Andar of Tārum 10 leagues, to Iṣfahān 106 leagues, to Asad-ābād 37 leagues, to Ray 50 leagues, to Zanjān 5 leagues, to Sāvah 42 leagues, to Sujās 5 leagues, to Qazvīn 19 leagues, to Qum 54 leagues, to Kāshān 74 leagues, to Hamadān 30 leagues,

to Yazd 145 leagues. And to other notable places in the Land of Īrān the distances are after this wise: to Baghdād 118 leagues, to Guwāshīr in Kirmān 203 leagues, to Nīshāpūr in Khurāsān 178 leagues, to Herāt in Khurāsān 251 leagues, to Balkh in Khurāsān 304 leagues, to Marv in Khurāsān 256 leagues, to Jurjān of Māzandarān 145 leagues, to Dāmghān in Qūmis 110 leagues, to Lāhijān in Jilān 44 leagues, to Tabrīz in Ādharbāyjān 46 leagues, Qarābāgh and Arrān 72 leagues, and to Shirāz 176 leagues.

**Qazvīn.** Of the Fourth Clime, and its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is  $85^{\circ}$ , and its latitude north of the equator  $36^{\circ}$ . It was one of the frontier places, for they were ever fighting the Daylamites and the Mulhids (Assassins). There are many Traditions that have come down to us concerning the excellencies of this land, and they are well known, being set forth by Rāfi in his work called *Tadwīn*<sup>1</sup>, and among them is one reported on the authority of Jābir ibn 'Abd-Allah the Anṣārī—whom may God accept—when the Prophet—peace be upon him and his family—said, *Make holy war against Qazvīn for verily it is one of the mightiest of the gates of Paradise*; for which reason Qazvīn is also surnamed the Bāb-al-Jannah (Gate of Paradise). Although a detailed description of the town has been given in our History called the *Guzīdah*<sup>2</sup>, for the sake of continuity a succinct account is added here.

According to the *Kitāb-at-Tibyān* Qazvīn was founded by Shāpūr (Sapor I), son of Ardashīr Bābakān, who gave it the name of Shād Shāpūr [و.ش], and apparently this was a large city, standing between the rivers Khar Rūd and Abhar Rūd. The mounds covering its (ancient) walls may still be seen, and people still inhabit the village of Sarjah which was given its name by Ardashīr Bābakān. As is well known, and explicitly stated in the *Kitāb Tadwīn*, the fortress of the Shahrīstān (or inner city) of Qazvīn—which same is now a quarter in the middle of the city—was built by Sapor II, surnamed Dhū-l-Aktāf, and the date of its foundation was the month Ayyār (May) of the year of the Alexandrian era 463. The Sign of Gemini was in the ascendant when it was built: and the mounds covering its walls still remain. During the reign of the Caliph 'Othman, his half brother on the mother's side, Walīd ibn 'Uqbah the Omayyad (who was governor of Kūfah), despatched Sa'īd ibn al 'Āṣ the Omayyad to set the affairs of this frontier country in order, and he then garrisoned the citadel of Qazvīn, and this became

<sup>1</sup> See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (1898), I. 399: he died in 623 (1226).

<sup>2</sup> This chapter of the *Guzīdah* (Text, p. 829), in which Mustawfi describes his native city, has been translated with notes by M. Barbier de Meynard, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1857, II. p. 257. The *Kitāb-at-Tibyān* is by Aḥmad ibn Abū 'Abd-Allah.

the centre of the (new) town. Subsequently the Caliph Hādī, who was named Mūsā, built a second city near the first, and this was called Madīnah Mūsā (the City of Mūsā); and at the same time his page Mubāarak the Turk built a third city, which took the name of Mubāarakābād. When Hārūn-ar-Rashīd had become Caliph, the population of these three cities made complaint to him that they were ever invaded by the (heathen) Daylamites, and that being scattered they were always in a state of apprehension. For which reason he ordered the wall now to be begun, which afterwards surrounded the three cities with their suburbs; though by reason of his early death this was not completed in his reign, nor indeed till the time of the Caliph Mu'tazz, when in the year 254 (868) Mūsā ibn Būqā at length brought the construction of this town wall to a completion, settling other inhabitants within its circuit, so that it became a great city.

Then afterwards the noble Šāhib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād of Ray, who was Wazīr to Fakhr-ad-Dawlah the Būyid, again restored the walls of Qazvīn in the year 373 (983), when ruin had begun to make way within their circuit: for he had read in the books of Traditions (how the Prophet had said)—*And there will be in latter days a city near unto the Daylam country called Qazvīn, which same is a gate of the Gates of Paradise, and he who shall labour to rebuild its walls, even though it be but to the extent of a handful of clay, verily God will forgive him his sins both great and small.* Furthermore he had read in the books of Traditions how the Omayyad Caliph 'Omar ibn 'Abd-al-'Azīz had reported (the Prophet to have said)—*Two cities will be conquered by my people, one in the land of Daylam, that called Qazvīn, the other in the Greek countries, that called Alexandria; [وَأَمَّا] verily he who watches on guard in one of these two cities, be it but for a day—and some authorities say be it but for a day and a night—assuredly he is worthy of Paradise.* And the Caliph 'Omar ibn 'Abd-al-'Azīz would then add the supplication—'O God let me not die before thou hast permitted me to have, in one of these two cities, a house or an abode.' The Wazīr Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād therefore caused a great house to be built for himself in Qazvīn in the quarter of Jawsaq, and to the present time this quarter goes by the name of Sāhibābād.

In the year 411 (1020) the walls of Qazvīn again fell to ruin, after the insurrection which had broken out against Ibrāhīm ibn Marzubān the Daylamite, who was the maternal uncle of Majd-ad-Dawlah, son of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah the Būyid; and this led to the repairs effected in the ruined portions of the wall by the Amīr Abu 'Alī Ja'fari. Again, in the year 572 (1176) Šadr-ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-Allah Lik ōf Marāghah, the Wazīr (of Alp Arslān the Saljūq), ordered the walls to be restored, and faced them for the most part with burnt bricks, and of such bricks

constructed their battlements, on which occasion the overseer of the works was the Imām Jamāl-ad-Dīn Bābuyah Rāfi'. And finally these walls, the circuit of which measured 10,300 paces, not counting the semicircles of the towers, were laid in ruin during the invasion of the Mongols.

The climate of Qazvīn is temperate, and its water is obtained from underground channels. The city has many gardens, and in the course of the year, once only, at the season of the floods, these come to be irrigated. They produce grapes, almonds and pistachios in abundant crops, and immediately after irrigation from the freshets they sow melons and water-melons, which ripen without any further watering, and their fruit is excellent. At most seasons both corn and grapes here are cheap, the bread is good, also fruits such as grapes and plums of excellent quality known as *Buzmush* (Lizards). The game-preserves and pastures are rich, more especially in fodder for camels, which here is superior to elsewhere: whereby the camels of Qazvīn are of higher price than camels from other lands. Three leagues distant from Qazvīn is a spring, called Angūl, and in the hot days of summer this spring is frozen over with ice, and if the weather be cool there is less ice. When in the town the store of ice fails, they get their need from here.

The people of Qazvīn are for the most part of the Shāfi'ite sect, and in matters of religion they are extremely bigoted: there are also some Ḥanafites and Shī'ahs here: but as for the Muḥids (Assassins) in spite of their neighbourhood and propinquity to Qazvīn the people here have never been taken by their heresy. In Qazvīn is the shrine of Ḥusayn, son of Imām 'Alī ar-Riḍā whose father was Mūsā (al Kāzim), also the tomb of one of the Companions of the Prophet. Further, many other famous saints lie buried here, as for example Khwājah Aḥmad [۱۹] Ghazzālī, Raḍī-ad-Dīn Ṭāliqānī, Abū Bakr Shādānī, Ibrāhīm of Herat, Khayr-an-Nassāj of Sāmarrah, Ibn Mājah the Traditionist, 'Alak and Falak of Qazvīn<sup>1</sup>, Nūr-ad-Dīn and Jamāl-ad-Dīn of Gilān, the Imām Rāfi', with many others. The revenues of Qazvīn belong to the Treasury: and on the Register the amount inscribed against this city is 55,000 (currency dīnārs). The territory of Qazvīn comprises 300 villages, with their arable lands divided into eight districts. Among these are many notable hamlets, as for example Fārisjīn, Khiyārīj, Qarīstan, Shāl, Sagzābād, Siyāhdahān, Sūmīqān, Shahr-Siyāhak, Sharafābād, Farāk, Mārīn and some others<sup>2</sup>. These outlying districts also pay (to the Treasury) a like sum of 55,000 (currency dīnārs).

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān, II. 680.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these names are very uncertain, and they vary considerably in the MSS.

## CHAPTER VII

Abhar and the Daylam Country. Āvah, Rūdbāi and Alamūt, Hasan-i-Sabbāh chief of the Assassins. Zanjān. Sāvah and the dried-up Lake, its four districts. Sujān and the Tomb of Arghūn Khān. The city of Satūriq with its Lake and Palace. Sarjahān. The Tārum and Tāliqān districts with their villages. Kāghadh-Kunān, Paper-factory. Muzdaqān river and town. Qum and Kāshān. Jurbādaqān and Queen Humāy. Farāhān and Karaj, the pasture-lands of Kītū. Natanz with its towns. Great Lur and Little Lur. Hamadān with its five districts. The two Kharraqāns. Rūdrāvar. Nihāvānd and its three districts. Yazd and neighbouring towns

**Abhar.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $84^{\circ} 30'$  and latitude  $36^{\circ} 40'$ . It was founded by Kay Khusraw, the son of Siyāwush. Afterwards Darius, son of Darius the Kayānian, built here a castle of clay bricks, and his brother Alexander the Great completed the same. On this earlier castle a second was founded by Bahā-ad-Dīn Ḥaydar, of the family of Nūshtagīn Shīrgīr the Saljūq, which received the name of Ḥaydariyyah. The circuit of the city walls measures 5550 paces. The climate is cold. Its water is from a river known by the name of the Abhar (Rūd), which rises in the neighbourhood of Sulṭāniyyah, and which flows down towards Qazvīn. Corn and fruit are plentiful here and of good quality, but the bread is vile, and but little cotton is grown. Of its fruits are the Sijistānī pear, the plum known as Bū 'Alī, and excellent cherries. The people are fair-skinned, and they are of the Shāfi'ite sect. In character, however, they are too much given to obsequious flattery. Outside the city stands [۱۰] the Shrine of Shaykh Abū Bakr ibn Tāhir Ṭayyār of Abhar<sup>1</sup>. The district of Abhar comprises 25 villages, and the revenues of the town and district amount to the sum of 14,000 (currency) dīnārs.

**Ashkūr and Daylamān.** These, with the Tālīsh and Kharraqān lands and Khastijān, are great districts lying between (Persian) 'Irāq and Gīlān, in a rugged mountain region. Each district is under the rule of its own governor, and each governor holds himself to be an independent king. The population are warlike and brave, but when they are abroad from their own country they become very craven. Being mountaineers, they pay little heed to religious matters, but for the most part incline to the Shī'ah and Isma'īlī sects. The climate here is cold, and the water is from springs and torrents coming down from the hills. The corn

<sup>1</sup> Died in 330 (942).



crops are very rich. Cotton and fruits are less in quantity, but sheep are plentifully reared, and game is abundant. Cattle-pasture is common and nutritious.

**Āvah.** Of the Fourth Clime: its longitude is  $85^{\circ} 55'$ , and its latitude  $34^{\circ} 40'$ . The name of its founder is unknown, but it was built when Virgo was in the ascendant. The circuit of its walls is near 5000 paces. Its climate is temperate, and its water is from the river Gāvmāhā (or Gāvmāsā), which flows along an aqueduct. In this town they leave water to be frozen in winter time, and this on more than one occasion, so that the ice sinks deep into the water. Then in summer they let this ice melt back into water, and when this is accomplished, even as deep down as the water has been previously frozen, the water in the pits remains perfectly clear for use as in other wells. Corn and cotton grow here well; but the bread is not very good, and of fruits only figs are excellent. The population are fair-skinned. They are of the sect of the Twelve Imāms, and are exceedingly bigoted in that doctrine, being all of a mind in the matter. The revenues of this town belong to the Treasury, and they amount to 10,000 dīnārs; while from the surrounding districts, which comprise some 40 villages, the revenues come to 7000 dīnārs. Both this city and its district are counted as included in (the government of) Sāvah.

**Rūdbār** (the River-bed). This is the district through which the river Shāhrūd [۱۱] takes its course, and hence its name. The district lies about six leagues distant north of Qazvīn, and there are here some 50 impregnable and well-built castles, the strongest of which are Alamūt, Maymūn-Diz, and Lanbasar. The most famous of all, however, is Alamūt, which was the chief stronghold of the Assassins in Persia, where for 171 years they kept their power. This castle lies in the Fourth Clime; its longitude is  $85^{\circ} 37'$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ} 21'$ . It was built by Ḥasan Ad-Dā'i-ilā-al-Ḥaqq, son of Zayd-al-Bāqirī, in the year 246 (860), and in the year 483 (1090) Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ (the Old Man of the Mountain) gained possession of it, and here preached his esoteric doctrines. Originally the name of this castle had been Āluh Āmūt, which means (in the Ṭabaristān dialect)<sup>1</sup> 'the Nest of the Eagle wherein she teaches her young,' and this in time came to be corrupted into Alamūt. Further, (in the *Abjad* reckoning) the sum of the numerical values of the letters in the name *Āluh Āmūt* gives the year (483) in which Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ became possessed of the castle; which same is a remarkable coincidence. In the year 654 (1256), by command of Hūlāgū, the castle was razed to the ground. The Rūdbār district, although for the most part of the hot country, still has so much of its adjacent lands of the cold country,

<sup>1</sup> See E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II. 203.

that in two places which are so near together as to be within call of each other, in one they will be reaping the barley, while at the same time in the other it will be the season of barley sowing. Their crops are excellent, giving corn and cotton, with grapes and other fruits of fine quality, and though the apple does not ripen well here, pears are not less good than in Iṣfahān. Bread too is excellent. The people are in religion of the Ismaʿīlī persuasion, and there is a sect called the Marāghiyān who claim connection with the sect of Mazdak. The people of Rūdbār, however, all profess to be Moslems, and at the present day some part walk in the way of the faith. Its revenues amount to 8000 dīnārs.

**Zanjān.** Of the Fourth Clime. Its longitude is  $83^{\circ} 40'$ , and its latitude  $36^{\circ} 30'$ . It was founded by Ardashīr Bābakān, who named it Shahīn. The circuit of its walls was 10,000 paces, but they became ruined during the Mongol invasion. Its climate is cold, and its water is from the river (Zanjān Rūd), which takes its name from the city, and which rising in the neighbourhood of Sulṭāniyyah flows out into the Safīd Rūd. There is also water from underground channels. The crops are mostly [۱۶] corn, but in the river-bed are melon grounds, and rice also is grown. There is no fruit, however, grown in the city and its neighbourhood, this being all brought in from the district of the Two Tārums. The people are in religion Sunnīs, of the Shāfiʿite sect. They are extremely prone to jesting and mocking; further in the *Suwar-al-Aqālīm* it is added that they are very careless by nature. Their speech is a pure Pahlavī (dialect). Many tombs of saints and holy men may be seen in this city, as for instance the grave of the Shaykh Akhī Faraj of Zanjān, and of Ustād ʿAbd-al-Ghaffār Sakkāk, and of ʿĪsā Kāshānī, with others. The revenues belong to the Treasury; they amount to 12,000 dīnārs; and from its district, which comprises about a hundred villages, the revenues are counted as 8000 dīnārs; making a total of 20,000 for both city and district.

**Sāvah.** This is of the Fourth Clime; its longitude is  $85^{\circ}$ , and its latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . It is a city built since Islām. Originally the site of Sāvah was a lake, but on the night of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad the water of this lake sank down underground—the same being a joyful portent. In that place they built this city, and the name of its builder is unknown, but it was founded when the Gemini were in the ascendant. Of late its walls having gone to ruin, the noble Khwājah Zahir-ad-Dīn ʿAlī, son of Malik Sharaf-ad-Dīn of Sāvah, has restored them, constructing the battlements and the face of the wall in burnt brick. The circuit of these walls is 8200 common ells. The noble Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn, son of the above, further has founded the village of Rūdābān over against but in connection with the town, and has given it walls which enclose it within the city, the circuit of

these latter being near 4000 common ells. The climate of Sāvah is rather hot but fresh; its water comes from the Muzdaqān river and from underground channels. In Sāvah too, as in Āvah, they leave water in pits to be frozen during the winter time, and then use the ice in the hot weather. The corn and cotton crops here are abundant; but the bread is not good. Of fruits figs, apples, quinces, the Murraq grapes, and the Khurramābād pomegranates all come to perfection. The population of the town is (Sunnī) of the Shāfi'ite sect, and they are very strenuous in the faith; but the people of all the other villages in the districts round—except only those of Alūsjird, who are Sunnis—are Shī'ahs [۱۳] of the sect of the Twelve Imāms. The revenue of these districts goes to the Treasury, and amounts to 25,000 dīnārs.

The territory of Sāvah comprises four districts, including a total of 125 villages. The first district is that of Sāvah (town) with 46 villages, of which the largest are Khurramābād, Sarāshiyūn, Tīriznāhīd, Varzanah, Anjilāvand, and Taradjird. The second district is that of Āvah (town)<sup>1</sup>, comprising 17 villages, of which the chief are Sar, Hamīrqān, Qutlugh Bāligh, Nawdhar, Kuhandān, Abardiz, and Kāsvāh. The third district is that of Chahrūd, with 25 villages, of which the largest are Khīv, Dastjird and Nāmāh. The fourth district is that of Būsīn with 42 villages and the chief are Rāvdān, Aznāvah, Shamīram, Murraq, Dafas, and Khijīn. The revenues of these districts amount to 45,000 dīnārs. Neither the barley nor the straw of this region will fatten cattle: so much so that the saying goes 'the straw of Qum is better than the barley of Sāvah.' Of famous shrines here is the tomb of Shaykh 'Othmān of Sāvah, and to the north outside the city lies the tomb of Ishāq, son of the Imām Mūsā-al-Kāẓim. Further, at a distance of four leagues to the westward of Sāvah, and in the Kharraqān district, stands the shrine, as is said, of the prophet Samuel.

**Sāj Bulāgh** (Cold Spring). This is a district which in Saljūq times paid its revenues to Ray, but which the Mongols have separated therefrom. It has a fine climate, its water in greater part is from underground channels, fruit and corn are in abundance, and most of its bread is excellent. Its revenues amount to 12,000 dīnārs. Its people are mostly nomads, and as such are indifferent in religious matters. The principal villages here are Kharāv, Najmābād and Sunqurābād. In Sunqurābād many Sayyids [۱۴] of noble descent have their abode; but it is now gone to ruin.

**Sujās and Suhravard.** These of old were two towns, but they were ruined during the Mongol invasion. At the present time both are reduced to the size of villages, to which

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 66. The names of most of the villages of these four districts are uncertain, and the MSS. give numerous variants.

some other villages belong also, together with the districts of Jarūd and Anjarūd lying one day's journey southward from Sultāniyyah. Sujās and Suhravard are of the Fourth Clime, lying in longitude  $83^{\circ} 20'$ , and in latitude  $36^{\circ}$ . Their district is of the cold region, corn and some little fruit growing here. There are more than one hundred villages round and about, for the most part settled by Mongols. The sepulchre of Arghūn Khān was made in the mountain of Sujās, and according to Mongol custom, they concealed the place, making the whole mountain an inviolable Sanctuary (*Qūrugh*), so that people could not without difficulty pass that way. Arghūn's daughter, Ūljāy Khātūn, however, made manifest her father's grave, founding a Darvīsh-house, and settling a community here. The people of Sujās and Suhravard are Sunnīs of the sect of Abū Hanīfah. In the Anjarūd district is a city which the Mongols call Satūrīq<sup>1</sup>: it stands on the summit of a hill and it was originally founded by King Kay Khusraw the Kayānian. In this town there is a great palace, in the court of which a spring gushes forth into a large tank, that is like a small lake for size, and no boatman has been able to plumb its depth. Two streams of water, each in power sufficient to turn a mill, continually flow away from this tank: but if they be dammed back the water in the tank no wise increases in level; and when the stoppage is removed the water again runs away as before: being at no season more or less in volume. This is a wonderful fact. This palace was restored by Abaqā Khān the Mongol, and in the neighbourhood there are excellent pasture grounds. Its revenues amount to 25,000 dīnārs.

**Sarjahān.** This was a castle that stood on a hill that lay over against the district of the two Ṭārums, being five leagues distant to the eastward of Sultāniyyah. Some 50 villages were of its dependencies, but all were ruined during the Mongol invasion. Near here also is the village of Quhūd, which the Mongols call Šāin Qal'ah, and which is the chief of all those neighbouring hamlets. This place, by reason of its nearness to Sultāniyyah, is become a flourishing country. It is of the cold region, [10] having corn and melon grounds, and as it lies on the great highroad, and has many outgoings to pay, all revenue to the Treasury is excused to it.

**The two Ṭārums.** These are districts of the hot lands, lying to the north of Sultāniyyah, one day's march distant. They produce excellent crops, and most of the fruit of Sultāniyyah comes from here. Formerly there was here a city called Fīrūzābād, which stood in Lower Ṭārūm, being its capital. At the present time it is a complete ruin, and Andar in Upper Ṭārūm has become

<sup>1</sup> Now known as Takht-i-Sulaymān, see Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Journal of R. Geogr. Soc.* 1840, x. 65.

the chief city of these districts. Its longitude is  $84^{\circ}$ , and its latitude  $36^{\circ} 45'$ . The population is Sunnī of the Shāfi'ite sect. These two regions comprise five districts. First the district of Upper Ṭārum, which is that lying round Qal'ah Ṭāj (the Crown Castle), and to it belong about one hundred villages; of the most important are Jazlā, Shūrzan, Darām, Hayāt, Qalāt, Razīd and Shīd. The second district is that of Lower Ṭārum, to which appertain the lands round the castle of Shamīrān: it includes some fifty villages with their farms, and the chief among them are Alūn, Khawarnaq, Sharzūrlard and Kalach. The third district is also of Lower Ṭārum, being of the dependencies of the castle of Firdaws; it has some twenty villages, of which the chief is Sarvān. The fourth district is that belonging to the two considerable villages Nisbār and Barīdūn, with eight other hamlets belonging thereto. The fifth district is that of Lower Dizābād, with twenty-five villages, of which the chief are Gulhār, Gulchīn and Balhal. The revenues of these districts, which include the gardens of Qalāt, Arad and Haykāl<sup>1</sup>, amount to 64,000 dīnārs.

**Ṭāliqān.** A district of the cold region, lying to the east of Qazvīn. Its longitude is  $85^{\circ} 45'$ , and its latitude  $36^{\circ} 10'$ . It is of the mountain region, and there were many castles here, though but few villages. Its crops are corn with nuts and fruits in lesser quantity. The people declare themselves to be Sunnīs in religion, but have leanings towards the Isma'īlī doctrines. Of its districts are Sarānrūd, Jarūd, Quhpāyah, Kan and Karkh, where there are many considerable hamlets. The revenues [٦] of Ṭāliqān with its districts amount to 10,000 dīnārs.

**Kāghadh-Kunān.** This was a medium sized town, founded by the Amīr Mīshūd of Zanjān, who was maternal grandfather of Sharwīn. It was given at first the name of Khūnaj, but since they came to make excellent paper (*Kāghadh*) here, it has taken the name of Kāghadh-Kunān (the Paper-factory). It is now in ruins, being only of the size of a village. Its population are of the Shāfi'ite sect. It has a cold climate, and its water is from springs that rise in the adjacent mountains, flowing down to the river Safīd Rūd. It produces no crops but cotton: and of its dependencies in former days were some 35 villages. It was ruined during the Mongol invasion, and now is a Mongol settlement, where they farm the lands, and the place is therefore known as Mughūliyyah. Of its dependencies are Hardaqān and Upper Dizābād, with some 70 other places, where further both cotton and fruits are cultivated. The revenue of Kāghadh-Kunān and these dependencies amounts to 5000 dīnārs.

**Muzdaqān.** A medium sized town of the Fourth Clime: in longitude  $84^{\circ} 50'$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . The town is 3000 paces in

<sup>1</sup> The names of most of the villages above enumerated are uncertain, the MSS. giving many variants.

circuit and its climate is rather cold. Its water is from the river which bears the same name as the town, and which flows down from the neighbourhood of Sāmān. The corn and grapes are excellent here, but other fruits are scarce. Its population are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿite sect. The revenues of the town with its dependencies, which include 13 villages, amount to 10,000 dīnārs, and it is counted as of the Sāvah government.

**Tīrak, Marjamnān, and Andijan**<sup>1</sup>. Tīrak is a provincial town of the Fourth Clime, situated to the north of Abhar, with 30 villages of its dependencies. It has a cold climate, but healthy, so that most of its population are long-lived. Its water is from springs in the neighbouring mountains, which flow down to the river Safīd Rūd. Its crops are grapes, corn and fruit of the cold region. Its people are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿite sect, and its revenues amount to 4000 dīnārs. Marjamnān and Andijan, with dependencies that include some 20 villages, are [۱۷] in climate and products similar to Tīrak; and the two places give revenues amounting to 6000 dīnārs: and of their revenues, together with those of Tīrak, one half goes to the Treasury of Qazvīn, and the other half to the Treasury of the Two Tārum̄s.

**Pushkil Darrah District.** This lies to the east of Qazvīn, and to the south of Tāliqān. It comprises 40 villages. Its climate is temperate, and its streams come down from the neighbouring hills. The crops are corn, fruits and nuts, and its population is in character and creed similar to the people of Tāliqān. Its revenues amount to 3000 dīnārs; and formerly these were set apart for the endowment of the Mosque at Qazvīn, but at the present time the Mongols have forcibly diverted it elsewhere.

The tūmāns of Qum and Kāshān.

Qum is of the Fourth Clime, lying in longitude 85° 15', and latitude 34° 45'. It was founded by Tahmūrath, when the Sign of Gemini was in the ascendant, and the circuit of its walls is more than 10,000 paces, being it is said 40 paces in excess of the wall of Qazvīn. Its climate is temperate, and its water is from the Jurbādaqān river. Here, as in Āvah, they leave water in winter to freeze in pits, and in the hot season make use of it. The water of its wells is found some 15 ells down, and it is apt to be brackish. Of its crops are corn and cotton in considerable quantities, and of its fruits there are excellent pomegranates, pistachios, water-melons and red figs. In this city also the cypress tree grows exceedingly well. The population are Shīʿahs of the sect of the Twelve Imāms, being extremely bigoted. Much of the city is now in ruins, but its walls for the most part are still standing. Its revenues belong to the Treasury, and of the city with its dependencies these amount to 40,000 dīnārs.

**Kāshān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 86° 40', and

<sup>1</sup> Readings uncertain. Andijan is mentioned by Yāqūt.

latitude 34°. The town was founded by the Princess Zubaydah, wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, when the Sign of Virgo was in the ascendant. Outside the town stands a castle built of clay bricks, called Fīn. The climate of Kāshān is warm, and its water is from underground channels coming down from Fīn, also from a stream that flows down from the Quhrūd district, and Niyāstar. In winter the cold is so intense that much ice is formed, and here too as in Āvah they leave water to be frozen in pits, and then make use of the ice in the hot season. Its crops are of medium quality; and of its fruits the best are grapes and water-melons. The population are of the Shī'ah [۱۷] sect, and most of them are philosophers by temperament and disposed to affability, so that ignorant and stupid persons are rare here. Of reptiles, scorpions are numerous, and very deadly, but they say that strangers are less likely than others to be stung. The revenues go to the Treasury. Of its dependencies are some 18 villages, mostly of considerable size. The population of this district are Sunnīs. In its dependencies in the village of Qumṣar excellent Ḥashīsh (Indian hemp) is grown. The revenues of the town with its dependencies amount to 117,000 dīnārs.

**Ardistān.** A district containing near 50 villages and similar to Kāshān in its crops. Here King Bahman son of Isfandiyār aforesometimes built a Fire-temple.

**Tafrish.** This is a district which is so situated that from all sides you must cross passes and descend thereto. It comprises some 13 villages of which Fam and Tarkhūrān are the largest. Its climate is temperate, and its water is derived from springs and underground channels, which come in from the neighbouring hills. Its crops are corn, cotton and fruits, and for the most part provisions are cheap. The people are Shī'ahs of the sect of the Twelve Imāms, and its revenues amount to 6000 dīnārs.

**Jurbādaqān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 85° 32', and latitude 34° 40'. It was founded by Humāy daughter of King Bahman the Kayānian, and was named Samrah after her, for at first Humāy was called Samrah. Her daughter rebuilt the town, naming it Gūlbādagān (the Home of Roses), which same the Arabs changed into the Arabic form of Jurbādaqān. Its climate is temperate, and its water is from the river that bears the same name as this town, and which thence flows down to Qum. Of its crops corn is the best. Most of its population are of the Shāfī'ite sect. The district comprises some 50 villages, further both Dalī-jān and Nīmvar are of its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 42,000 dīnārs.

**Dalījān.** Formerly a medium sized town, standing in longitude 85° 40', and latitude 33° 15', but at the present day it is in ruins. It has 20 villages of its dependencies, and its crops are like those of Jurbādaqān.

**Zuvārah.** Of the Fourth Clime, and lying on the border of the Great Desert. [۱۹] It was founded by Zuvārah brother of Rustam, son of Dastān (Zāl), and 30 villages belong to it. Its revenues amount to 8000 dīnārs.

**Farāhān.** In this district are many notable villages, and its chief town is Dīh Sārūq, which was founded by King Ṭahmūrath: at the present time its largest villages are Zulfābād and Māsīr. It lies in longitude  $84^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $34^{\circ} 50'$ ; the climate is temperate and water is obtained from underground channels. The chief crops are corn, cotton and grapes, with excellent fruits which are always of cheap price in this district. The population are Shī'ahs, of the sect of the Twelve Imāms, and very bigoted. There is here a lake which the Mongols call Chaghān Nāūr (the Salt Lake): round it lie excellent hunting-grounds. The revenues of this district amount to 37,000 dīnārs.

**Karaj and the Karah-Rūd District.** Of the Fourth Clime, lying in longitude  $84^{\circ} 45'$  and latitude  $34^{\circ}$ . It was founded by Abū Dulaf 'Ijlī in the time of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. To the north lies the Rāsmānd mountain, and at its foot gushes forth a great spring called the spring of Kay Khusraw, round which extend broad pasture-lands, measuring six leagues by thirty leagues across, known as the Marghzār of Kītū (or Kīsū). Here near by stands a strong castle, known as the Qal'ah Farzīn. The revenues of the district amount to 11,000 dīnārs.

**Naṭanz.** This is of the Fourth Clime. It is a medium sized town, with about 30 villages of its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 12,500 dīnārs.

**Namīsvar.** Of the Fourth Clime. King Jamshīd the Pīsh-dādian founded it, and he built for himself here a lofty palace, the remains and ruins of which may still be seen. Further King Gushtāsp erected here a Fire-temple. Its climate is good and temperate, and in products and crops it resembles Naṭanz.

**Marāvīdīn.** A district with some 20 villages of its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 3200 dīnārs.

**Washāq<sup>1</sup>.** This castle stands in the district of [۷۰] Naṭanz. Originally it was known by the name of Kamart; but when a certain Washāq became governor thereof, it took his name, and thus was called Washāq. The poet Najīb-ad-Dīn of Jurbādaqān in reference to this has written the following couplet:

*But why so obstinate? when every morn, at time of sun-rise,  
The sun's foot strikes against a stone that is in Kamart!*

**Great Lur.** This tūmān is a considerable district to which also belong certain towns of the Shūlistān district of Fārs, also

<sup>1</sup> This, and the two previously named places, are apparently not mentioned by other authorities.



Kardārkan with Quhpāyah of Almastān are of its dependencies. Its revenues go to the Atabeg, and it is said that they amount to over a million dinārs. What the Atabeg however pays over to the Mongol Treasury is only 91,000 dinārs, and it is unknown what may be the sum derived by him from each particular district.

**Īdaj.** Of the Fourth Clime, and a small town of the hot country. Its climate is unhealthy, for it is shut in from the north, but its water is wholesome and good, for it is only four leagues distant from the Kūh-i-Barf (Snow mountain).

**‘Arūj** (or **‘Arūh**). It is also known as Jābaliq, which is the city of Sūs. This is a small town occupying both banks of the river, and having many gardens where oranges, citrons and lemons grow, also the trees of the hot lands in great abundance.

**Lurdagān.** A small town, with a bad climate, and its water too is unwholesome. It produces fine crops of grapes.

**Little Lur.** This tūmān is a considerable district, the revenues of which are paid to the Atabeg, and are said to amount to a million dinārs: of this sum only 91,000 dinars are paid over to the Mongol Treasury, as inscribed in the Registers.

**Burūjird.** Of the Fourth Clime; a large and spacious city, with two mosques, the old and the new. Its climate is moderately good, and its wine is excellent. Much saffron is grown here.

**Khurramābād.** This was a fine town that is now in ruins. Dates grow here abundantly.

**Samsā**<sup>1</sup>. A district that is counted as belonging to Māyirūd. It has 30 villages, and there is [v.] here a castle named Diz-i-Siyāh (Black Fort).

**Ṣaymaraḥ.** This was a fine town but it is now in ruins, and in all this mountain region it is only here that dates grow.

**Girdlākh.** These are the winter quarters of Shujā<sup>c</sup>-ad-Dīn Khurshīd.

**Kūrisht.** This was formerly a large town, but it is now in ruins.

The tūmān of Hamadān comprises five cities.

**Hamadān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 83°, and in latitude 35° 10'. It was founded by King Jamshīd the Pīshdadian, when the Sign of the Ram was in the ascendant. There is here a fortress of unburnt bricks; it stands in the midst of the city, and is known as the Shahrīstān; it was built by King Darius, but for the most part it is now in ruins. Hamadān of old was a mighty city; and in the *Kitāb-i-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup> it is even stated to have been two leagues across in the length. The Goldsmiths' market stands on the site of what was an ancient village, which

<sup>1</sup> Unknown. The MSS. give many variants.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṭabaqāt-i-Hamadānī* by Abū ‘Abd-Allah Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d the Aṣmauensis of Wāqidi.

having gone to ruin Jamshīd the Pīshdādian rebuilt, giving its walls 12,000 paces in the circuit. The climate here is cold, the water is wholesome, and comes down from Mount Alvand. In the middle of the city too there are many springs, and in the *Ṭabaqāt* already mentioned it is asserted that there are 1600 and odd springs that flow down from the hills and into the city limits. The gardens are numerous, and fruit is extremely cheap here. Corn grows abundantly, but the bread is not good. Most of the people are Muʿtazalites or Anthropomorphists. There are here many blessed shrines as for instance the tomb of Khājah Hāfiẓ Abū-l-ʿAlā of Hamadān, and of Bābā Ṭāhir the Ecstatic, also of Shaykh ʿAyn-al-Qudāt and many others<sup>1</sup>. Its revenues go to the Treasury, and they amount to 105,000 dīnārs. Hamadān has five districts. The first is Farīvār, which lies about the town [vr] for two leagues round, and it includes 75 villages; of which the principal are Shahristān, Lābjīn, Fakhrābād, Qāsimābād and Kūshkbāgh<sup>2</sup>. Further the district of Māshānrūd, which is the equal of paradise, and the cynosure of the Chinese picture-palaces, is counted as part of Farīvār, and it has 9 villages forming the like of but one garden, for it is impossible to say definitely which land belongs to which village, for all their gardens adjoin one to the other, and by reason of the thickness of the trees the sun cannot penetrate through them. This district of Māshānrūd is two leagues in the length and half a league across, and it lies over against the city (of Hamadān). In the village of Māshān itself is the tomb of Abū Dajānah the Anṣārī, one of the Companions of the Prophet. The second district is that of Azmāwīn, with 41 villages, of which the principal are Dīh Darūdā, Āqā-ābād, Tabʿābād, Girdābād, Māramhān and Fāmītī.<sup>6</sup> The third district is that of Sharāhīn, with 40 villages, of which the chief are Avarhan, Fāmarah, Kūmjān, Milādjird, Astah and Ashūd. The fourth district is that of Aʿlam, with 35 villages, of which the largest are Ashvand, Admān, Astavzan, Navār and Farūkah. The fifth district is that of (the rivers) Sadrūd and Barhandrūd, which district has 21 villages, of which the principal are Kurkahīriyah and Pīrūz. The revenues of these five districts at the present day amount to 136,000 dīnārs.

**Asadābād.** Of the Fourth Clime; a small town with temperate climate. Its water is from Mount Alvand and from underground channels. It produces corn, cotton, grapes and other fruits. The population is fair-skinned. Its revenues amount to 15,000 [vr] dīnārs, and its district comprises 35 villages.

<sup>1</sup> Bābā Ṭāhir died about 410 (1020); his Quatrains in dialect have been edited by E. Heron Allen. ʿAyn-al-Qudāt died 525 (1131); see Ibn Khallikān, III. 459, 536.

<sup>2</sup> The names of these villages are uncertain, and vary considerably in the different MSS.

**Māja'lū and Tamsār<sup>1</sup>.** These are places that have pasture-lands and excellent hunting-grounds.

**The two Kharraqāns.** These are two districts which comprise 40 villages, lying in the Fourth Clime. The climate here is rather cold. The water is from springs rising in the neighbouring mountains; corn and fruits are grown here, but there is little cotton. The principal villages are Abah, Ardān, Alishār, Gulchīn, Ṭabashkarī, Tabarak, Alvīr and Sayfābād. The revenues amount to 9500 dīnārs.

**Darguzīn.** This formerly was merely a village of the A'lam district, but it has now become a provincial capital, and some other places are counted as of its dependencies. Its lands are fruitful. It has many gardens; corn, cotton, grapes and other fruits grow here excellently. The population are Sunnīs of the Shāfi'ite sect, and very religious, being followers of the Shaykh-al-Islām Sharaf-ad-Dīn of Darguzīn—may God grant him length of life for the sake of all true Moslems. The revenues of Darguzīn amount to 12,000 dīnārs.

**Rūdrāvar.** A provincial town, which, with others, namely Sakān, Tuvī and Dīh Sarkān, together with 70 villages, occupy five districts. Some other places are also counted as of the same, namely Hindrūd, Sarkānrūd, Karzānrūd, Lāmjānrūd and Barzamhīn. The climate is temperate, its waters come down from Mount Alvand. The lands are very fertile and much saffron is cultivated here, wherefrom the place is also known as Za'farānī (Saffron-country). Its revenues amount to 23,500 dīnārs.

**Sāmān.** A large village in the district of the Two Kharraqāns. The climate is rather cold. Its river is from the mountain of the same name, and after it has joined the Muzdaqān river this flows down to Sāvah. The crops are corn, grapes and some little fruit. Its revenues amount to 12,000 dīnārs. [v:]

**Shabdabhar and Fūlā<sup>1</sup>.** These are districts with some villages belonging thereto.

**Nihāvand.** Of the Fourth Clime; in longitude 83° 15', and latitude 34° 20'. A medium sized town, with temperate climate, its water coming from Mount Alvand. There are here many gardens, and the land is fertile. The people for the most part are Kurds, being Shī'ahs of the sect of the Twelve Imāms. Corn and grapes are excellent, and some cotton grows here, and there are near 100 villages in the country round, which are comprised in the three districts of Malāir, Isfidhān and Jahūq. Its revenues amount to 37,000 dīnārs. There are here many nomads of the Kurdish horsemen, and these yearly pay 12,000 sheep as their contribution for revenue.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

## CHAPTER VIII

Ādharbāyjān and its frontiers. Tabrīz, its foundation, many earthquakes. Inner Wall and Gates. New quarters built by Ghāzān Khān. Outer Wall and Gates. The suburb of Shām. The Great Mosque. Gardens and water-courses. Fruits. The Cemeteries and Shrines. The seven districts round Tabrīz. Ūjān or Shahr-i-Islām: its pious foundations. Tasūj or Tarūj. Ardabil: Shaykh Ṣafī-ad-Dīn. The Rūyīn Diz Castle. Khalkhāl and Fīrūzābād. Hot and cold springs. The Shāhrūd and Pishkīn districts. Castles and towns lying on Mount Sablān. Khoi and towns round the Urmīyah Lake. Sarāv and Miyānij. Marāghah and its districts. The Observatory. Dīh Khwāiqān and other towns. Marand and the Zalūbar river. The Kermes insect. Dizmār. The Khudā-Āfarīn bridge and the bridge built by Dīyā-al-Mulk over the Aras. Nakhchivān and Ūrdūbād

SECTION 3. Describing the province of Ādharbāyjān. This comprises nine tūmāns, with 27 cities. The most part thereof has a rather cold climate, but some little portion is temperate. Its frontiers extend to the provinces of Persian Īrāq, Mūghān, Gurjistān, Armenia and Kurdistān. In length from Bākūyah to Khalkhāl it measures 95 leagues, and in breadth from Bājarvān to Mount Sinā 55 leagues. The capital of Ādharbāyjān in former times was Marāghah: at the present day it is Tabrīz, which same is the finest and largest city in all the land of Īrān. The revenues of Ādharbāyjān in the days of the Saljūqs and Atabegs amounted to near 20,000,000 dinārs of the money of the present time.

The (district of the) tūmān of Tabrīz comprises three cities.

Tabrīz. This city is of the Fourth Clime; and it was founded during the days of Islam, and it is as the Pole of Islam in Īrān. Its longitude is  $82^{\circ}$ , and its latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . It was founded by the Lady Zubaydah, wife of the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, in the year 175 (791). Sixty-nine years later, namely in the year 244 (858) and during the reign of the Caliph Mutawakkil, it was destroyed by an earthquake, but the Caliph forthwith caused it to be rebuilt. Then one hundred and ninety years later, namely on the 14th of Safar in the year 434 (4th October, 1042), it was again totally destroyed by an earthquake. Further the Qāḍī Rukn-ad-Dīn of Juvayn, in his *Majma' Arbāb-al-Maslik*<sup>1</sup>, asserts that the Astronomer Abū Tāhir of Shīrāz, being there present (in Tabrīz) at this time, had foretold that on a certain night the city would be laid in ruins by an earthquake, and he had urged that the authorities should by force bring the people out of the city and encamp

<sup>1</sup> The text, probably in error, has *Mulk* for *Maslik*, and *Khoi* for Juvayn. See above, p. 14.

them in the plain, in order that they might not all be destroyed by the falling walls. His prediction came true, for the city in the very night he had indicated was completely ruined, and some 40,000 men were killed in the disaster. Then the Amīr Vah-sūdhān ibn Muḥammad ibn Rawwād al-Azdī, who was governor of the province on the part of the Caliph Qāim, in the year 435 (1043) began to rebuild the city of Tabrīz under the guidance of the aforesaid Astronomer, at the time when the Sign of the Scorpion was in the ascendant. And this same Astronomer further asserted that for the future Tabrīz would not again be laid in ruins by an earthquake, but rather would be in danger by flood of water. Now this same, up to the present date, during the three hundred [۷۱] years that have elapsed since his prediction, has proved to be perfectly true; for though the city has been many times visited by earthquakes these have caused no great ruin; and the reason would appear to be that there being now numerous underground water-channels carried through the subsoil, also many wells dug down into the same, the earth's vent-holes are so opened, that its puissant vapours no longer are dangerously compressed, and therefore violent earthquakes do not occur.

The circuit of the (inner) wall of Tabrīz measures 6000 paces: and it is pierced by ten gates named as follows: the Ray Gate, the Castle Gate, the Sanjān (or Sanjārān) Gate, the Gate of the Archway (Ṭāq), the Darūb Gate, the Cold-Stream Gate, the Dar-Dastī-Shāh Gate, with the Gates of Nārmīyān, Nawbarah, and Mawkilah, which last is a suburb. In Mongol times, when this city had become the capital of the kingdom, the population here greatly increased, and they began to build many houses outside the city limits, until at length at each gate there was a suburb, as great as the city itself had originally been. These suburbs therefore Ghāzān Khān proceeded to surround by a (second) wall, which should encircle also all the gardens and their buildings, with the villages lying on Mount Valiyān and also at Sanjān: all these came to be included therein, though the wall was not completed on account of the death of Ghāzān Khān. Its circuit measured 25,000 paces, and it had six gates, namely the Gates of Ūjān, Āhar, and Shirvān, of (the river) Sard-Rūd, of Shām and of (the river) Sarāv-Rūd. Near Tabrīz, at a place below the city called Shām, which lay outside the (second) wall he had built, Ghāzān Khān founded a suburb, and here for his own burial place he constructed lofty edifices the like of which are not to be seen throughout the whole of Īrān. Then above the city, and on the flank of Mount Valiyān, but within the wall of Ghāzān Khān, the Vazīr Rashīd-ad-Dīn built another suburb, which came to be known as the Rashīdī quarter, and here he constructed many high and magnificent palaces. Later his son,

the Vazīr Muḥammad Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn, enlarged his father's buildings here. The Vazīr Tāj-ad-Dīn °Alī Shāh Jilānī, outside the Nārmīyān quarter in Tabrīz, built a Friday Mosque, the court of which measured 250 [vv] ells by 200 ells. A great hall was constructed for this mosque, greater even than that of the Palace of the Chosroes at Madāin, but because they had built it in too great haste, it fell to the ground. As regards this mosque every effort was made for its magnificence, marble unstinted being used in its construction, but to describe it all would take too long a time<sup>1</sup>.

At the present day in all the land of Īrān there is no city with such large and magnificent buildings as are to be seen in Tabrīz, and in its two suburbs. The city too has many gardens, and there is the river Mihrān-Rūd, which rises in Mount Sahand, further 900 and odd underground water-channels, that have been dug by rich folk, and all these irrigate the gardens, and yet they are not sufficient. The water of these channels, also that coming from the river, belongs to the state: all except that from the Zāhid water-channel near the Ray gate, and the Za°farānī channel, at the Nārmīyān gate; with two-sixths of the water of the Rashīdī channel which same runs in six conduits. The climate of Tabrīz is rather cold: its water is wholesome, that of the river being better than the water from the underground channels, and this last better again than the well-water. In Tabrīz itself water is found in the wells at a depth of 30 ells more or less; in the Shām suburb it occurs at 10 ells, but in the Rashīdī quarter it is only reached at 70 ells. Tabrīz grows corn with other grain crops, and beans, of the utmost excellence. Fruit here is good, plentiful and cheap, more particularly pears, of the kinds called Tukhm-Khalaf, and Payghambarī, also Salāti apples, Ḥulwānī and Tukhm-Aḥmad plums, Rāziqī and Malikī grapes, and those small in size and of the kind called Ṭabarzad (sugar-candy): further Yāqūtī, Malikī, and Majd-ad-Dīnī melons; and the yellow plums of Tabrīz are not to be matched elsewhere. The people here are fair-skinned and handsome: but proud and boastful in bearing. Most are Sunnīs of the Shāfi°ite sect: but men of other sects and religions are numerous. Also in this city men of pleasure are very elegant, witty and handsome, whereby, as the saying is, 'The Old are more attractive than the Young.' Rich and poor alike occupy themselves with business, wherefore most people in these parts are become opulent. In companionship and friendship, however, they are very untrustworthy. Hence the following quatrain:

*The Tabrīzī is of that nature that he can never become a sincere friend,*

<sup>1</sup> This mosque is described by Chardin, *Voyages* (ed. by Langlès, 1811), II. 322—324.

*All the world is as the kernel, while he is the (rough) husk;  
He whom in friendship thou findest not to be sincere,  
Though he be an (utter) stranger, be sure that he is a Tabrīzī  
by nature (if not by birth). [۷۸]*

This our Master Humām-ad-Dīn answered in the following quatrain:

*Tabrīz is good, and all that comes from thence is good,  
It is they who are the kernel, do not imagine them to be (rough)  
husks;  
With those of an inimical temper they are not in harmony,  
For never can an angel be the friend of demons.*

Further I too have composed the following two quatrains:

*Tabrīz is like paradise, and its people pure  
Like the mirror that is clear of all stain of rust,  
Thou sayest that they are not sincere in their friendship,  
But the mirror only can give back what it reflects.*

And again:

*Tabrīz is paradise and its people are like Houris,  
Houris by inclination are averse from evil-doers:  
They do not mingle with nobodies and nonentities,  
For a stink and perfume will not combine.*

In Tabrīz wine-bibbers go about with shameless effrontery, and this condition is an evil state that infames the good name of the city. The cemeteries lie dispersed in various directions: namely in the Surkhāb, Jarāndāb, Kajīl, Shām, Mount Valiyān, Siyārān and other quarters; and in these cemeteries may be found many blessed graves, as for example that of the Faqīh (Jurisconsult) Zāhid, of Imām Jaʿdah, of Ibrāhīm Kuwāhān, of Bābā Faraj and of Bābā Ḥasan, of Khwājah Diyā-ad-Dīn, of Kamālīnī and Bālīnī of Tabrīz, of Ḥasan Bulghārī, and of the Shaykh Nūr-ad-Dīn Samāristānī<sup>1</sup>. Then in the Poets' Graveyard, at Surkhāb, lie buried Anvarī and Khāqānī, Zahīr-ad-Dīn of Fāryāb and Shams-ad-Dīn of Sujās, Falakī of Shīrvān and other poets. In the village of Dih Kajūjān is the tomb of Khwājah Muḥammad Kajūjānī, and in Dih Shādābād lies Pīr-i-Shīrvān, and many other saints. Of the Companions of the Prophet there is on Mount Sahand the tomb of the Arab general Usāmah ibn Shurayk, while on the bank of the river Sarāv-Rūd is the grave of Abū-l-Muḥjan the Kurd, and in the cemetery by the river Sard-Rūd is the shrine of Qays. In the Bāvil-Rūd cemetery is the shrine of ʿAjal the brother of Ḥamzah (the

<sup>1</sup> For all these see the India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS. by Ethé: *Haft Iqlīm*, Col. 476, Nos. 1309 to 1313.

Prophet's Uncle), in the Surkhāb cemetery the tomb of Umayyah ibn ʿAmr ibn Umayyah, and besides there are many other graves of holy men, throughout the city, and its neighbourhood, the full recital of which would be wearisome.

The revenues of the city go to the Treasury, and in the year 40 of the Khānī Era (A.D. 1341) these amounted to 8,705,000 dinārs, as inscribed in the registers. Tabrīz has seven districts. The first [۷۹] is that on the river Mihrān-Rūd, and it lies to the eastward of the city, at a distance of 5 leagues from the town gates. Kand-Rūd, Isfanj and Saʿdābād are its largest villages. The second is the Sard-Rūd district, occupying a plain lying to the south-west of the city and one league distant. Here the villages of the Sard-Rūd and the gardens of the city are continuous, most of the lands being so intermingled that it is impossible to distinguish what gardens belong to which village. Excellent fruit is grown here; and its chief villages are Sardast, Dūsht, Jūlāndaraq, Alghānbadar, Kajābād and Lākdaraj. The plain here grows corn, and the water of the Sarāv-Rūd inundates its arable lands. The third district is that of the famous Bāvīl-Rūd, lying in the angle to the south-west, 4 leagues distant from the city, and a most delightful land. It is indeed all one garden, that cancels all mention of Sughd (Sogdiana) round Samarqand, or of the Ghawṭah round Damascus, emulating the Shīʿb Bavvān Valley (in Fārs) and the Māshān-Rūd district of Hamadān. It comprises 25 villages of which the largest are Bāvīl, Khūrshāh, Mīlān and Askūnah. The fourth district is that of Arūnaq lying to the westward of the city: beginning at 3 leagues distant, and extending for a space of 15 leagues, its breadth being 5 leagues. It gives excellent crops, and for their corn, grapes and fruit all the districts round Tabrīz depend on its harvests. It comprises 30 villages, for the most part so large as to be each like a provincial town, amongst which are Sanar and Sanast, Salsūrūd, Dābiḡhān, Kūzah-Kunān (the Potteries), Šūfiyān with some others. The fifth district is that of Rūdqāb, lying at the back of the Surkhāb mountain, one league to the north of the city, and extending thence for 4 leagues. It is extremely fertile in corn growing, and there 10 *Mann*-weight of meal produces 16 *Mann*-weight of bread. There are here near 40 villages, of which Rūd-Hind, Sārū, Alanjiq and Ūfarīd are the largest. The sixth district is that of Khānum-Rūd. The seventh is called Badūstān, which lies also to the north of the city, behind the Rūdqāb [۸۰] district. It comprises 30 villages, of which the largest are Mādargāv and Ūrīshāq.

The revenues of these districts amount to 100,000 dinārs and a fraction: and the places called Ahjūm (or Injūham), that are situated in these districts, and which are pious foundations, dependent on the private property of Ghāzān Khān, these are



assessed at 185,000 dīnārs. The total revenue of the province amounts to 275,000 dīnārs, and including revenue due to the Treasury from the city, the amount is 1,150,000 dīnārs. The distances from Tabrīz to the various places in Ādharbāyjān are as follows; to Ūjān 8 leagues; to Ardabīl 30; to Ushnūyah 30; to Urmīyah 24; to Āhar 14; to Pīshkīn 18; to Khoi 20; to Salmās 18, but going round by Marāghah it is 26 leagues; to Sarāv 20; to Marāghah 20; to Dih-Khwārqn 8; to Marand 15; and lastly to Nakhchivān 24 leagues.

**Ūjān** (Awjān). Of the Fourth Clime. In the old registers it is counted as of the Mihrān-Rūd district (of Tabrīz), but this is incorrect. It was founded by Bīzhan son of Gīv son of Gūdarz (in the time of king Kay Khusraw. (Of late years) Ghāzān Khān rebuilt it, and surrounded it with a wall constructed of mortared stone, renaming it Shahr-i-Islām (Islam City), and making it temporarily his capital. The circuit of this wall was 3000 paces. Its climate is cold: water comes from the Sahand mountain, and its lands produce corn and beans, but fruit and cotton are not grown. The population, who are fair-skinned, are of the Shāfiʿite sect, and there is here a community of Christians. Its revenues, which belong to the Treasury, amount to 10,000 dīnārs. Its farms, many of which lie in the tract called Hūkām, are very fertile, giving excellent corn crops. Their harvests, together with the produce (of the lands round) the town, all belong to the foundation for charitable bequests, which Ghāzān Khān instituted; and these lands include several other great villages of parts adjacent, as for instance Sarmān and Janqn.

**Ṭasūj** (or Ṭarūj). A provincial town lying two marches to the west of Tabrīz, and situated on the north side of the Chīchast (Urmīyah) Lake. It has many gardens, and fruit there is good and plentiful: it is warmer than Tabrīz, and by reason of its nearness to the Lake it is damp. Its water is from a stream [ا] coming down from the mountains there: also from wells. The people are of a mixed race, being Turks and Tājiks (Persians). Its revenues amount to about 5000 dīnārs as on the registers: and this sum has been made over to the charitable foundations instituted by the Īl-Khān Abū Saʿīd.

In the Ardabīl tūmān there are two cities: Ardabīl and Khalkhāl.

**Ardabīl.** Of the Fourth Clime, its longitude being  $82^{\circ} 20'$ , and its latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . It was founded by Kay Kāūs son of Siyāwush the Kayānian, and it stands at the foot of Mount Sablān. Its climate is extremely cold; hence corn cannot all be ground in the same year in which it is sown, and some remains for the next year; and except for wheat, no other grain is grown here. Its water is from streams coming down from Mount Sablān: and it is most digestible, for which reason the

people here are great eaters. Most of the population are of the Shāfi'ite sect, being followers of the Shaykh Ṣafī-ad-Dīn<sup>1</sup>. The district comprises about 100 villages, all of the cold region. On the summit of Mount Sablān was a strong castle called Diz Bahman or Rūyīn Diz: and in the *Shāh Nāmāh*<sup>2</sup> it is related that when Kay Khusraw and Fariburz were fighting together for the sovereignty, it was agreed that it should belong to him who took this castle. Now Fariburz failed to conquer it; but Kay Khusraw did take it into his possession so the sovereignty came to him. This castle is now a ruin. (The Castle of) Diz Shīdān, where was the stronghold of Bābak-i-Khurram-Dīn, lies in the mountains near Ardabīl on the Jīlān frontier. The revenues of Ardabīl amount to 85,000 dīnārs, as inscribed on the registers.

**Khalkhāl.** This was formerly a fair sized town, it is now but a village, with about a hundred hamlets belonging thereto. Round and about are four districts: and these are Khāmidah-Bīl, Sajasrūd, Anjīlābād and Mīsīn. In former days the city of Fīrūzābād, which stood at the summit of the Bardalīz pass, was the residence of the governor of the province; and the governors here have the name of Āqājariyān. [۱۷] After Fīrūzābād had gone to ruin, Khalkhāl became the seat of government: but now this too has become a ruin. In this district, near the village of Dih Kūyī, there is a valley, and on the sunny side of this valley there rises a spring the water of which during the whole summer is frozen over with ice; while on the shady side (of the same valley), which is called Qazhāvanah Yasār, there is another spring the water of which (is so hot that it) will boil an egg. One league distant from Khalkhāl stands a mountain, the side of which is perpendicular and like a wall, being about 200 ells in height. At its summit there projects a crag from the mountain peak, some 15 ells in height, and on this peak there is a spring that never ceases to pour forth water, sufficient to turn two mills, and the irrigation of the fields of Khalkhāl is all derived from this source. In its neighbourhood are excellent pasture lands, and indeed here the clotted-milk (called *Māst*) is so thick that it has to be cut with a knife, as though it were cheese. The hunting-grounds too are numerous, and well stocked with game, which same is always in fat condition. The revenues of Khalkhāl amount to 30,000 dīnārs.

**Dārmazīn.** A district with a hundred villages, of which the most considerable are Qūl, Jāmkū and Zahr. Its revenues amount to 29,000 dīnārs on the registers.

<sup>1</sup> Ṣafī-ad-Dīn (Abū-l-Fath Ishāq), who died in 735 (1335), was a descendant in the twenty-first generation of the Seventh Imām, Mūsā-al-Kāzīm, and became the ancestor of the Ṣafavī kings of Persia. See *Haft Iqlīm*, Col. 478, No. 1359 of the India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *Shāh Nāmāh*, Mohl, II. 436.

**Shāhrūd.** A district that adjoins that of the Tālīsh districts: comprising some 30 villages, of which the largest are Shāl, Kalūr, Hīmš, Darūd and Kīlvān. It has a temperate climate, rather warm, producing excellent corn, though but little fruit. The people profess to be of the Shāfi'ite sect, but in truth they have no faith, being an irreligious folk. The revenues amount to 10,000 dīnārs as given on the registers.

The tūmān of Pīshkīn (or Mishkīn) comprises seven cities, namely: Pīshkīn, Khiyāv, Anād, Arjāq, Āhar, Takalafah and Kalanbar<sup>1</sup>.

**Pīshkīn.** This is of the Fourth Clime: its longitude is 82° 20', and its latitude 37° 40'. Originally it bore the name of Varāvī, but after Pīshkīn the Georgian had come to be governor there, it was called after his name. The climate is rather damp, for the reason that [Ar] Mount Sablān, lying to the south of it, keeps off the sun. Its water is from that mountain's streams. Corn and fruit grow here abundantly. The people are of the Shāfi'ite sect, some being Hānafites, with a few Shī'ahs. The revenues amount to 5200 dīnārs: and the district is apportioned among military fief-holds, some five tūmāns (50,000 men) being allocated here.

**Anād and Arjāq.** These are two provincial towns lying to the south-west of Mount Sablān. Anād was founded by Fīrūz son of Yazdagird the Sassanian. Originally it was called Shādān, or else Shād-Fīrūz. Arjāq was built by Qubād son of this Fīrūz. The climate of both towns is temperate: the water is from streams rising in Mount Sablān, and there are numerous excellent gardens, where fruits and grapes and melons and nuts in quantities grow. Some 20 villages lie near and about, the revenues amounting to 7000 dīnārs.

**Āhar.** This is a small town with a cold climate, taking its water from a river called after the town, which rises in Mount Ashkanbar. There are also wells, and underground water-channels for the town. The crops are corn and a little fruit. The people are of the Shāfi'ite sect. The revenues belong to the Treasury, producing about 10,000 dīnārs assessed on the crops. The district comprises some 20 villages, and these further are assessed at about 5000 dīnārs.

**Takalafah.** This was a provincial town, but is now in ruins. Its lands produced corn, for they were very fertile.

**Khiyāv.** Also a provincial town, lying to the south-west of Mount Sablān, and as Sablān protects it from the north, its climate is warm. Its water is from that mountain's streams: it has few gardens, and its crop is in the main corn. Its people for the most part are boot-makers and cloth-workers. The revenues amount to 2000 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> These names have many variants in the MSS.

**Darāvard.** This of old was a provincial town, but now it is merely (the name of) a district, where certain of the Mongols have their winter-quarters. It produces corn, cotton and rice.

**Qal'ah Kahrān** (Kahrān Castle). This formerly was a strong castle, but it is now in ruins. Its lands produce corn and good cotton [۱۴].

**Kalanbar**<sup>1</sup>. A provincial town, that stands in the middle of a forest and among great mountains. There is here a strong castle, at the base of which flows a river. Its climate is temperate. It takes its water from the aforesaid river, and its crops produce corn, fruits and grapes. The population are mixed Turk and Tālīsh tribes, being of the Shāfi'ite sect. Its revenues amount to the sum of 3000 dīnārs, as inscribed in the registers.

**Kilān Faṣlūn.** A district that comprises some 50 villages of the Tālīsh country: but the people here are so godless in belief that, but for the name, they are scarcely human beings. Excellent crops of corn, cotton and rice are raised here.

**Murdān Naqīm.** A district, of which the largest villages are those of Kavānī, Kalālah and Jirm. They produce fine crops of corn, grapes and other fruit: and many of the lands lie along the bank of the river Aras. The revenues amount to 8700 dīnārs.

**Naw Diz** (New Fort)<sup>2</sup>. A castle that is now in ruins, standing on the summit of a hill, at the foot of which flows the Āhar river. Some 20 villages are of its dependencies, of which the chief are Hūl, Būl and Hinduvān: Hūl being the residence of the governor; where too there are preserved certain relics of the Prophet Muḥammad, that are most impressive. The climate here is rather warm.<sup>n</sup> Its water is from the Āhar river, also from wells: its crops are corn, cotton and rice, also there are many gardens which produce excellent fruit, such as grapes. Its revenues amount to 11,000 dīnārs. In the registers this district goes by the name of Bulūk Īnjū.

**Yāft** (Māft, or Bāft). A district with some 20 villages, lying in the midst of a forest. Its climate is warm, and it produces corn, with some fruit, its revenues amounting to 4000 dīnārs.

The Khuvī (Khoi) tūmān comprises four towns, Khoi, Salmās, Urmīyah and Ushnūyah.

**Khoi.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 79° 40', and latitude 37° 40'. A medium-sized town, being 6500 paces in circuit. [۱۰.] Its climate is rather warm, its water coming from the Salmās hills, and the streams flowing down to the Aras. It has many gardens, and the like of its grapes and Payghambarī pears, for sweetness and size and flavour, is found nowhere else. Its people are fair-skinned, being of Chinese (Khitāy) descent, and very good

<sup>1</sup> Or Kalantar. Many variants for this and the following places.

<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt says that he had visited it.

looking; for which reason Khoi is known as the Turk country<sup>6</sup> of Īrān. There are near 80 villages of its dependencies, of which Khirs and Badhalābād are the best known: and the revenues amount to 53,000 dīnārs.

**Salmās.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $79^{\circ} 14'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 40'$ : a large town. Its walls had fallen into ruin, but the Vazīr Tāj-ad-Dīn 'Alī Shāh 'Tabrizī' restored them and their circuit is 8000 paces. It has a rather cold climate. Its water is from streams that come down from the Kurdistān hills, and flow out to the Chīchast (Urmīyah) Lake. It has many gardens, producing excellent fruit such as grapes: and good wheat with other grain crops are grown here. The people are Sunnīs, and very religious. They are ever at war with the neighbouring Kurds, for quarrels are perpetual between the two peoples, being so to speak the natural state, and a hereditary condition, hence peace is never made between them. The revenues amount to 39,000 dīnārs.

**Urmīyah.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $79^{\circ} 45'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 45'$ . It is a great city, being 10,000 paces in circuit, standing on the shore of the Chīchast Lake. Its climate is warm and rather damp: its water is taken from springs that rise in the hills, and they flow down into the Lake. It has large gardens, which produce the grape of most excellent quality called Khulūqī, and the Payghambarī pear, and yellow plums. The people of Tabriz have a saying, in their Turkish dialect, referring to the first mentioned fruit, for if they meet a handsome man in ragged clothes, they speak of him as 'Khulūqī grapes in a torn basket.' The inhabitants for the most part are of the Sunnī sect. Of its dependencies are 120 [۱۲۱] villages, and their farms are extremely productive. The revenues amount to 74,000 dīnārs.

**Ushnūyah.** A medium-sized town, standing among the hills one march to the south-west of Urmīyah. Its climate is better than that of Urmīyah; its water is taken from streams that rise in the hills round. Its lands produce corn and other cereals, also grapes. Most of the population are Sunnīs. Of its dependencies are 120 villages, the lands of which are very productive. The revenues amount to 19,300 dīnārs.

**Sarāv** (Sarāh, Sarāt or Sarāb), in the tūmān of the same name, is a city of medium size, situated in the Fourth Clime, and lying to the south-east of Mount Sablān. Its climate is cold, and it takes its water from the river which is called after the name of the town, and which, rising in Mount Sablān, flows out into the Chīchast Lake. Its crops of corn and other cereals are abundant, but grapes and fruits are less plentiful. The population is fair-skinned. They are of the Sunnī sect, and noted

<sup>1</sup> Vazīr of Ghāzān Khān, he died in 724 (1324).

as gluttons. In the dependencies are about a hundred villages; and there are four districts, namely Ravand, Darand, Barāghūsh and Saqhar, whose farms produce excellent corn. The revenues amount to 81,000 dīnārs.

**Miyānij and Garmrūd.** Miyānij was formerly a considerable town, but is now of the size of a village, with a few dependencies. Its climate is warm and damp, and there are gnats in quantities. Garmrūd is the name of a district, comprising about a hundred villages, with a better climate than that of Miyānij. Corn, cotton, rice, grapes and other fruits grow here: also cereals. Its chief streams rise in the neighbouring hills, and their flood-waters flow out to the Safīd Rūd. The population is fair-skinned and of the Turk race. Its revenues amount to 25,800 dīnārs.

The Marāghah tūmān includes four cities, Marāghah, Basavā, Dih-Khwārqān and Nīlān. [۱۷]

**Marāghah.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $82^{\circ} 70'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 20'$ . It is a large town, and formerly was the capital city of Ādharbāyjān. Its climate is temperate, but rather damp, for the reason that Mount Sahand shelters it on the north side. It has many gardens, and its water is from the Sāfī river, which rises in Mount Sahand, and flows out to the Chīchast Lake. Its lands produce corn, cotton, grapes and other fruits, and for the most part the prices here are cheap. There are six districts round Marāghah, namely Sarājūn, Niyājūn, Daraj-Rūd, Hasht-Rūd and Gāvdūk: further, Bihistān, Angūrān and Valāvrān are of its dependencies. The people here are fair-skinned, and of Turk race, and for the most part are of the Ḥanafite sect. They speak a Pahlavī (Persian dialect) mixed with Arabic. The revenues belong to the Treasury, and amount to 70,000 dīnārs, while from the aforesaid districts the amount is 185,500 dīnārs. Outside Marāghah Naṣīr-ad-Dīn of Ṭūs, the Astronomer, built an Observatory, by order of Hūlāgū Khān<sup>1</sup>, but this now is in ruins.

**Basavā (or Pasavā).** A small town, and its streams come down from the neighbouring hills, flowing out to the Chīchast Lake. Its lands produce corn, grapes and some other fruits; its revenues amounting to 25,000 dīnārs.

**Dih Khwārqān.** A small town, having a temperate climate. Its water is from Mount Sahand, and there are numerous gardens. The grapes here are beyond compare: corn, cotton and fruits of all kinds grow excellently. The population are fair-skinned, and follow the sect of Imām Shāfi'ī. Eight districts surround the town, and the revenues amount to 23,600 dīnārs.

**Nīlān (or Laylān).** A small town with many gardens. Corn, cotton, grapes and much fruit come from here; its water is from

<sup>1</sup> Described by General H. Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 1883, p. 338, where a plan is given.

the Jaghtū river and from wells. The population is of Turk race, and they follow the Ḥanafite sect. The revenues amount to 10,000 dīnārs.

The Marand tūmān [اا] has many districts of its dependencies.

**Marand.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $81^{\circ} 55'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 59'$ . It was a large town, the walls having been 8000 paces in circuit: but at the present time only about half of the place is standing. The climate is temperate, and its water is from the Zalūbar river<sup>1</sup>. Corn, cotton and other cereals grow here: also grapes and fruit: of which the peach and the plum are above all excellent. Of the neighbourhood are some 60 villages, having fine crops and fertile lands. In the plains to the south of Marand the Qirmiz<sup>2</sup> insect is found: this can only be obtained during a single week during the summer season, and if the insect be not taken then, it makes a hole (in its cocoon) and flies away. The revenues of Marand and its dependencies amount to 24,000 dīnārs.

**Dizmar.** A district to the north of Tabrīz, comprising some 50 villages, more or less, of which the largest are called Dūzāl, Kūrdasht, Qūlān, Harār, Khūr and Athaq<sup>3</sup>. The climate is temperate though rather warm, and for water a stream comes down from the hills, its flood-waters going to join the Aras river. The crops consist of corn, cotton and fruit of all kinds; all these will grow here in greater abundance than elsewhere, and early vegetables for Tabrīz are brought in from this district. The revenues amount to 40,800 dīnārs.

**Zangiyān.** To this belong several villages, but all are now counted as part of Murdān Naqīm. In the neighbourhood is the Bridge of Khudā Āfarīn (Praise be to God) over the Aras river, which was built in the year 15 (636) by Bakr ibn ʿAbd-Allah, one of the Companions of the Prophet.

**Rīvaz**<sup>4</sup>. A market town having many gardens; its crops are corn, grapes and fruit; and especially excellent is the white apple grown here, called Qiblī. Its revenues amount to 3000 dīnārs.

**Karkar**<sup>5</sup>. A market town: its crops are corn, cotton [اا], grapes and other fruit. Near it stands the bridge over the Aras,

<sup>1</sup> Variant, possibly, Zunūz, the present name of the lower reach of the Marand river; its upper part is now called the Zilbar.

<sup>2</sup> Which gave the *Crimson* dye, before the importation of cochineal from America. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo the Spanish ambassador to Tīmūr, who passed through this district on the 13th May, 1404, notices as found here 'el cremesin conque se tiñe la seda.' The insect is the *Kermes ilicis*.

<sup>3</sup> Names uncertain, many variants.

<sup>4</sup> Uncertain, many variants. Possibly Rivan for Erivan.

<sup>5</sup> Variant Karkaz, and possibly identical with Hīšār Karnī (through a clerical error) mentioned by ʿAlī of Yazd, who describes the bridge as built by the son of Malik Shāh's Vazīr, the Nizām-al-Mulk. Yāqūt gives the reading Karkar.

built by Diyā-al-Mulk Nakhchivānī, which is one of the finest buildings due to private beneficence.

The Nakhchivān tūmān comprises five towns.

**Nakhchivān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $80^{\circ} 55'$  and latitude  $33^{\circ} 40'$ . The town was built by Bahrām Chūbīn, and is a fine place: and may be indeed called 'the world picture' (*Naqsh-i-Jahān*). Most of its buildings are of burnt brick: its crops are corn, cotton, grapes and some fruit. The population is fair-skinned, and they are of the sect of Shāfi'ī. In the neighbourhood stand many strong castles, among the rest Alanjiq, Sūrmārī, Taghmar and Faghān. Its revenues amount to 113,000 dinārs.

**Ajnān** (Akhhbān or Ajfān). This place is also known as Kār-khānah (the Workshop) because there is here a copper mine.

**Urdūbād.** A provincial town with fine gardens, growing excellent grapes, corn and cotton. Its streams come down from Mount Qubān, and its flood-waters flow out to the Aras river.

**Āzād.** A small town. Its crops are corn, cotton and grapes in abundance, and the wine made here is famous. Its river comes down from Mount Qubān, and flows into the Aras. The population are fair-skinned; but of cruel nature. The revenues amount to 18,300 dinārs.

**Mākūyah.** A castle in the cleft of a rock, and at the foot lies a village, which stands in the shade till mid-day, being under its shadow. In this place lives the Chief Priest, whom they call the Marjānithā<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There are many variants: and there is probably some confusion between the Hebrew words *Marganithā*, a Pearl (i.e. Prince, chief), and *Margalūthā*, the title given to the Chief of the Captivity. Mākū (as the name is now pronounced) was famous in the last century as the place of imprisonment (about 1849) of the Bāb.



## CHAPTER IX

Frontiers of Arrān and Mūghān. The Mūghān province: the poisonous Hyssop. Bājarvān and the Rock of Moses. Barzand, built by Afshīn. Hamshahrah and the *Shāh Nāmāh*. The Arrān province. Baylaqān and Ganjah. The province of Shīrvān. Bākūyah and Shamākhī. The Rock of Moses. The Gushtāsfī district. Georgia (Gurjistān) and Abkhasia (Abkhāz). Ani and Tiflis. The province of Asia Minor (Rūm). Tradition of the Prophet: its frontiers. Sīvās. Erzerum, the Church and Mosque. Āqsarā. Antioch. Avnik and its castle. Divrigī. Samsūn. Shimshāt, tomb of Sāfwān the Companion of the Prophet. ‘Ammūriyah (Amorion). The Church at Qālīqalā. Qarā-Hişār. Qūniyah (Iconium): the Castle, Wall and Ditch: Tomb of Jalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī. Qayşariyah (Caesarea Mazaka): Bath of Pliny: Shrine of Muhammad Hanafiyyah. Malatīyah: Ptolemy, author of the *Almagest*. Other Fortresses. Little Armenia and Sis. Greater Armenia. Akhlāt. Alātāq: Palace of Arghūn. Malājzird. Vān and Vastān

### SECTION 4. Describing the provinces of Arrān and Mūghān.

The climate of these provinces is warm, and rather damp. The boundaries march with Armenia, Shīrvān, Ādharbāyjān and the Caspian. Their revenues in the times of the Atabegs amounted to more than 3,000,000 dīnārs of the present currency; but at this day the sum on the registers is only 303,000 dīnārs.

**Mūghān.** The province of Mūghān extends from the pass [4.] called Sang-bar-Sang (Stone upon Stone), which lies over against the Pishkin tūmān, to the banks of the Āras river. Throughout the whole of this land, from whatsoever place it is impossible to perceive Mount Sablān, in autumn, the herbage of the hyssop (*Dirmanah*) is poisonous, and cattle which eat of it perish. In spring-time it is less poisonous, though to any hungry beast that eats the same it is somewhat more injurious than ordinary fodder. In all places from which Mount Sablān is visible, the hyssop fodder is there entirely innoxious.

**Bājarvān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 83° 59' and latitude 38°. This originally was the chief town of Mūghān, but it is now in ruins, and is only of the size of a populous village. According to Ibn Khurdādbih what is related in the Qurān (ch. XVIII. vv. 59 to 73) concerning Moses and Khidr (Elias)—from the verse beginning *Remember when Moses said to his servant:—I will not stop till I reach the confluence of the two Seas, or for years will I journey on:—*down to the verse—*Then they went on till they met a youth, and he slew him. Moses said—Hast thou slain him who is free from guilt of blood? Now hast thou wrought a grievous thing;—*(all this took place in Mūghān and Shīrvān),

for the Rock is the rock of Shīrvān, and the Sea is the Caspian Sea, and the Village is the hamlet of Bājarvān; and the servant whom (Khidr) killed was slain in the village of Khayzān. In the *Suwar-al-Aqālīm* however the Rock of Moses is said to exist in Antioch, while in the Commentaries of the Qurān the incident aforesaid is stated to have taken place at the Confluence of the two Seas (beyond the Pillars of Hercules): this last being indeed the true identification. The climate of Bājarvān is somewhat warm; its streams come down from hills in its outskirts: and the produce is corn only.

**Barzand.** Of the Fourth Clime, lying in longitude  $83^{\circ} 59'$  and latitude  $37^{\circ} 49'$ . A medium-sized town. It fell to ruin and then was rebuilt by Afshīn, the page of the Abbasid Caliph Muṭaṣim, and Afshīn made it his residence (when governor here). At the present day it is once more in ruins, and become merely of the size of a populous village. It has a warm climate; it is watered from wells, its lands are productive and corn is grown.

**Pīlsuvār.** Of the Fifth Clime. It was built by an Amīr of the Buyids, whose name was Pīlah Suvār, which signifies [ايل] 'Great Horseman.' It is now of the size of a mere village. Its water is from the Bājarvān river; and corn is its chief crop.

**Maḥmūdābād.** This stands in the Gāvbārī plain, beside the (Caspian) sea. It was built by Ghāzān Khān the Mongol, and it is of the Fifth Clime.

**Hamshahrah.** Of the Fifth Clime, and above the shore of the Caspian, from which it stands two leagues distant. Originally it was called Abar Shahrah, and Farhād son of Gūdarz lived here, who is identified with Nebuchadnezzar, and of whom Firdawsī speaks in connection with this place in the verse (of the *Shāh-Nāmah*)

*When Farhād chose Abar Shahrah,  
He, by his warring, deprived the world of light<sup>1</sup>.*

The Arrān province is the land 'Between the Rivers,' namely from the bank of the Aras (Araxes) to the river Kur (Cyrus).

**Baylaqān.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $83^{\circ} 32'$  and latitude  $39^{\circ} 55'$ . It was founded by Qubād son of Fīrūz the Sassanian. It is now in ruins. Most of its houses were built of burnt brick. It has a warm climate, and for crops produces excellent corn, rice in the husk, cotton and cereals.

**Barda<sup>c</sup>.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $88^{\circ}$  and latitude  $40^{\circ} 20'$ . It was founded by Alexander the Great, and restored by Qubād, son of Fīrūz the Sassanian. It was a large town o

<sup>1</sup> These verses are not apparently to be found in the texts of the *Shāh-Nāmah* published by Turner-Macan, Mohl or Vullers. Farhād son of Gūdarz is the well-known hero so often mentioned during the long reign of Kay Kāūs (cf. *Shāh-Nāmah*, Mohl's translation, I. 431).

considerable wealth, and there were in it numerous fine buildings. Much fruit is produced, and more especially the filberts and chest-nuts here are celebrated for being finer than elsewhere. Its water is from a stream known as the Tartar river.

**Ganjah.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $83^{\circ}$  and latitude  $40^{\circ} 34'$ . This is a town built since Islam, having been founded in the year 39 (659). It is a fine city and very productive, and hence it is thus mentioned in the verse :

*Several cities in Irān are more opulent than many others,  
Richer and more productive, by reason of climate and soil, [۹۵]  
Of these is Ganjah, so full of treasure, in Arrān, Isfahān in  
‘Irāq,  
In Khurāsān Marv and Tus, in Rūm (Asia Minor) Āq  
Sarāy.*

**Hīrak** (or Sīrak). This district forms the summer quarters of Barda<sup>c</sup>, it being a most pleasant and fertile place, with running streams, rich pasture-lands and excellent hunting-grounds. The people of Barda<sup>c</sup> go thither in the hot season, spending their winter in the city.

SECTION 5. Concerning the lands of Shīrvān and Gushtāsfī.

The Shīrvān country extends from the bank of the Kur (Cyrus) river to Darband of the Gate of Gates. The revenues thereof during the days of the Khāns of Shīrvān amounted to one million dīnārs of the money of our time ; but at present, all that is inscribed on the registers is 113,000 dīnārs. Further in the matter of the military fiefs there are many of these in the divers districts.

**Bākūyah.** Of the Fifth Clime, in latitude  $84^{\circ} 30'$  and longitude  $40^{\circ} 30'$ . Its climate is warm, and its crops are for the most part corn.

**Shamākhī.** The chief city of Shīrvān, of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $84^{\circ} 30'$  and latitude  $40^{\circ} 39'$ . It was built by king Anūshīrvān the Just. Its climate is warm, and more healthy than other places of the province. According to Ibn Khurdād-bih the Rock of Moses and the Fountain of Life were to be found here, but in other books they are said to stand near the Confluence of the two Seas<sup>1</sup>.

**Qabalah.** Of the Fifth Clime, lying near Darband<sup>2</sup>. It was built by king Qubād the Sassanian. It produces excellent silk, also corn and other cereals.

**Fīrūzābād** or **Fīrūzqubād.** Yāqūt mentions this as a provincial town lying near Darband. It has a good climate and many pleasant places lie near by.

**Shābirān.** Built by king Anūshīrvān. Its climate is warm,

<sup>1</sup> Qurān, XVIII. 62 and see above, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Not far from the river Kur, according to ‘Alī of Yazd.

but the water here is unwholesome. It has good crops of corn and other cereals.

**Gushtāsfī.** This district lies along the coast of the Caspian, having been laid out by king Gushtāsf son of Luhrāsp. He dug a great canal from the rivers Kur and [۹۳] Aras, and from this water-channels were taken with numerous villages lying upon their banks. The crops are corn and rice, with some little cotton and fruit. Its population is fair-skinned, and follow the sect of the Imām Shāfi'i; speaking a Pahlavī dialect that is near akin to the language of Gilān. The revenues in former days, before the Mongol invasion, amounted to a million dīnārs of the present currency, but in these days the sum is only 118,500 dīnārs. There are here many military fiefs, which have been granted in divers parts of the district.

**SECTION 6.** Concerning the lands of Gurjistān (Georgia) and Abkhāz (Abkhasia).

There are five towns here, and the climate is cold. The frontiers of these districts march with the provinces of Arrān, Armenia and Asia Minor; and the revenues in the times of their native kings amounted to near five million dīnārs of the present currency; but in our times the government only obtains 1,202,000 dīnārs. The capital of the district of Georgia and Abkhasia is the city of Tiflīs.

**Alān.** This district lies in the Fifth Clime, under longitude 88° and latitude 40°. It was laid out by king Fīrūz the Sassanian, and its climate is excellent, being rather cold. Its streams come down from mountains that are spurs of the Alburz (Caucasus) range, and they flow into the river Kur. Its crops are corn and fruit.

**Ānī.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude 79°, and latitude 41°. Its climate is cold; the crops being corn and some little fruit.

**Tiflīs.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude 83°, and latitude 48°. It stands in a valley, one side of which is a spur (of the neighbouring) mountain, and the river Kur flows through the midst of the city. The houses, lying along the river banks, are so built that the roofs of one row form the pavement of the street for the next row above. There are here many baths, in which fountains of natural hot water rise up, and hence no fires are needed here to heat the same. The corn crops are excellent, and there is also some little fruit.

**Khanān<sup>1</sup>.** This is a strongly built castle, crowning a high hill, that lies on the frontier of Arrān.

**Qarş.** Yāqūt [۹۴] reports this to be a small town, lying two days' march from Tiflīs. It has a good climate, with excellent corn crops, its soil being very fertile.

<sup>1</sup> Name uncertain, may be Jabān, Khabān, or Hayān, etc.

SECTION 7. Concerning places in the kingdom of Rūm (Asia Minor)<sup>1</sup>.

There are here about sixty towns. The climate is cold. The learned of old named Rūm 'the debaucher of Cities,' and a Tradition of the Prophet is warranty thereto, for verily he said *Rūm, none that is innocent enters here*. Further it is stated by Ibn Khurdābih, and other learned persons, that when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and carried away captive the inhabitants, Allah became wroth with them, and made habitual the carrying away therefrom captives and prisoners. Hence from that time forth of a surety no day passes, but what, during it, a prisoner is borne away captive from Rūm to other lands. The writer of the present work further adds that this is even so at the present day; also again, by reason of our wicked lives, many captives are borne away from the lands of Īrān into Rūm; and the Qurān (ch. XXVIII. v. 59) confirms this by the verse *We too did not destroy the villages, except when the people thereof were unrighteous*—Verily we seek refuge with Allah from His wrath.

The frontiers of the province of Rūm march with Georgia, Armenia, Sis (Little Armenia), Syria and the Mediterranean. Its revenues at the present day amount to 3,300,000 dinārs, as set down in the registers; but during the times of the Saljūqs they were in excess of fifteen million dinārs of the present currency. In this province Sīvās is at the present time the largest city.

**Sīvās.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $71^{\circ} 32'$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ} 20'$ . At the present time its walls are in ruin, but these were originally built by 'Alā-ad-Dīn the Saljūq of squared stones. The climate here is cold. Crops of corn, fruits and cotton are raised, and the wool of Sīvās, which is so renowned, comes from the district.

**Abulustān.** A medium-sized town of the Fifth Clime.

**Anqurah (Angora).** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $73^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . Its climate is somewhat cold, and the crops are corn, fruit and cotton.

**Arzanjān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $74^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ}$ . Its buildings were restored by Sultan [۱۰] 'Alā-ad-Dīn the Saljūq; the wall being rebuilt of squared masonry. The climate is excellent; the river Euphrates flows past the town. The crops are corn, fruit, cotton and grapes in plenty. Its revenues amount to 332,500 dinārs.

**Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum).** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $76^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ} 40'$ . There is here a Church, which

<sup>1</sup> The information contained in this Section must have been copied by Mustawfī from some writer unknown to us, who had described Asia Minor as it existed under the rule of the later Saljūqs of Rūm, whose power came to an end in 700 (1300). When Mustawfī was writing the country had already been divided up among the ten Turkoman Amirs. See *Land's of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 142 to 145.

same is the greatest in all that land. It has an immense dome, measuring 50 ells in diameter; and it is said that part of the vault of this same dome fell down on the very night of the birth of the Prophet, and how often soever they tried to rebuild it, they could never accomplish it, for again it would fall down. Over against this Church stands a Mosque, built as to length and breadth in the likeness of the Ka'bah of Mecca. It is called the Ka'bah Model. The revenues of this place amount to 22,000 dīnārs.

**Arāk<sup>1</sup>.** A medium-sized town, taking its water from the Euphrates. The climate is cold, and the crops are corn with little fruit. The revenues amount to 10,700 dīnārs.

**Irmanāk.** Of old this was a large city, but now it is only a provincial town. Its revenues amount to 7000 dīnārs.

**Āqsang<sup>1</sup>.** A small town, whose revenues amount to 5000 dīnārs.

**Āqsarā.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 68°, and latitude 38°. It was built by 'Izz-ad-Dīn Qilij Arslān the Saljūq, in the year 566 (1171). It is a very fine place, and fertile, producing excellent corn, fruit and abundant grapes. Its revenues amount to 51,000 dīnārs.

**Aqshahr.** This lies seven leagues from Arzanjān, being three marches from Qūniyah. Its revenues amount to 135,000 dīnārs.

**Amāsīyah.** A large town that was rebuilt by Sultan 'Alā-ad-Dīn the Saljūq. It produces all kinds of fruits, and its climate [١١] is both healthy and pleasant.

**Antākiyah (Antioch).** A medium-sized town of the Fourth Clime, with an excellent climate.

**Avnik.** A castle standing on a hill-top, with the town of Abashkhūr<sup>2</sup> lying at the foot of the same. It was built by Shaykh Ḥasan son of Hājji Ṭughāy Sūtāy. The Amīr Shaykh Ḥasan Chūpānī laid the town in ruins. It lies eight leagues distant from Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum).

**Bāburt.** This was a large town; it is now but a small one, having a few gardens, and its revenues amount to 21,000 dīnārs.

**Divrīgī.** A medium-sized town, whose revenues amount to 40,300 dīnārs.

**Davalū.** A medium-sized town, whose revenues amount to 40,300 dīnārs.

**Darjān<sup>3</sup>.** A medium-sized town, whose revenues amount to 40,300 dīnārs.

**Khartabirt.** A large town, of the Fourth Clime. It has an excellent climate, and its revenues amount to 215,000 dīnārs.

**Shahrah<sup>4</sup>.** A small town lying on the sea coast; its revenues amount to 15,000 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Name uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps identical with Chorak, opposite the island of Cyprus.

**Samsūn.** A town lying on the shore of the Greek (Black) Sea, and it is a harbour for ships.

**Shimshāt.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $72^{\circ} 35'$ , and latitude  $40^{\circ}$ . It is a large town, and there is here the tomb of Ṣafwān ibn Mu'attal, the Companion of the Prophet. In this neighbourhood there grows a tree, the fruit of which is like an almond; this can be eaten together with its rind, and it is sweeter than honey, with an excellent flavour. No one knows what is the name of this fruit.

**‘Ammūriyah (Amorion).** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $66^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $43^{\circ}$ . The place is commonly named Angūrah<sup>1</sup>. In the *Jāmi‘-al-Hikāyāt* it is reported that Augustus Caesar of Rome built it, for a treasure was in those days found here, and this was spent on its buildings. Its revenues amount to 72,800 [٩٧] dīnārs.

**Qālīqalā.** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $78^{\circ} 35'$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ} 40'$ . A large town where the well-known carpets come from. Yāqūt states that there is here a Church of the Christians, in which is a chamber, where a certain place is opened on the night of Palm Sunday, that being the last Sunday of Lent, and from this place a white clay is taken out, which same is an antidote against poison. Of it none should eat more than a sixth of a drachm, otherwise, eating more, he would die.

**Qarā-Ḥiṣār.** There are many castles of this name. First there is Qarā-Ḥiṣār of Mount Kamar, which lies three marches from Qaysariyah; and its revenues amount to 25,300 dīnārs. Next is Qarā-Ḥiṣār built by Bahrām Shāh on the frontier near Qūniyah, and its revenues amount to 11,600 dīnārs. Thirdly, there is Qarā-Ḥiṣār Bavāsī near Nigdah, and its revenues amount to 14,600 dīnārs. Lastly, there is Qarā-Ḥiṣār Līmūniyah of Āq-Shahr near Arzanjān<sup>2</sup>.

**Qaṣṭamūniyah.** A medium-sized town, the revenues of which amount to 15,000 dīnārs.

**Qūmanāt<sup>3</sup>.** A small town, whose revenues amount to 14,000 dīnārs.

**Qūniyah (Iconium).** Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $65^{\circ} 45'$ , and latitude  $41^{\circ}$ . A large town, of the province of Cappadocia. Sultan Qilij Arslān built here a castle of squared masonry; and therein, for his residence, erected a great hall. Afterwards this castle having fallen to decay, and the walls of Qūniyah being in ruin, Sultan ‘Alā-ad-Dīn the Saljūq and his Amīrs restored the city walls. These were built very high, of squared stones, and

<sup>1</sup> A mistake, Angūrah, or Anqurah, being a different town; see above p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> The first and the third Qarā-Ḥiṣār mentioned would appear to be identical, namely the castle of that name near Davalū. Qarā-Ḥiṣār of Bahrām Shāh is Qarā-Ḥiṣār Afīyūn; while the last mentioned is Qarā-Ḥiṣār Sharqī, or Shābīn.

<sup>3</sup> Comana; possibly Gomenek on the Veshil Irmağ (Iris river) above Tūqāt.

rose straight up from the bottom of the ditch ; the ditch being dug 20 ells in depth, and the wall above it being 30 ells in height ; while the circuit of the walls was over 10,000 paces. Many magnificent buildings were constructed in the city, and the same had twelve city gates, each of which was surmounted by a tower like a fortress. The climate is temperate : the water is from the hills round ; and to keep the water pure, at each city gate there is a great dome built (over a tank), [٩٨] and outside each dome there are some 300 spouts by which the water flows out. The crops here are plentiful and excellent, consisting of cotton, corn and other cereals. There are many gardens ; those on the side of the city that is towards the plain, at the present day, lie waste ; but those on the other side under the hill, on which stands the castle of Kūlah, are still in cultivation. Grapes and all kinds of fruit are grown here, and the yellow plums are especially sweet, and full of flavour. Since the city of Qūniyah is near the frontier of the Qarāmān province they are ever at war with their neighbours, and always have to be on their guard. Among other celebrated shrines there is here the tomb of Mawlānā Jalāl-ad-Dīn (Rūmī), the son of Bahā-ad-Dīn—may his grave be sanctified.

**Qaysariyah** (Caesarea Mazaka). Of the Fifth Clime, in longitude  $69^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ} 20'$ . A great city standing at the foot of Mount Argæus. Its castle was built of squared masonry by Sultan 'Alā-ad-Dīn the Saljūq. Its revenues amount to 140,000 dīnārs. According to Yāqūt Pliny, the Philosopher, made here a bath for Caesar, which could be heated with a single lamp. Also there is a shrine known as the Hall (Majlis) of Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafīyyah, the son of the Caliph 'Alī, and this same is much venerated.

**Kāb** (or **Gāb**)<sup>1</sup>. A medium-sized town with a cold climate. It is of the Fifth Clime, and its revenues amount to 22,100 dīnārs.

**Kamākh**. A castle, with a small town lying below it. The climate is cold, and some villages are of its dependencies, the revenues amounting to 34,400 dīnārs.

**Kavak**<sup>2</sup>. A medium-sized town of the Fourth Clime, having much fruit.

**Kīr and Baqīh**<sup>3</sup>. These originally were two cities, that lay close one beside the other ; both are now in ruin, with but few houses standing. The fruit here is excellent, and plentiful.

**Lūlūah**. A small town of the Fifth Clime. Its climate is cold, and it has fine pasture-lands with hunting-grounds both numerous and extensive.

**Malatīyah**. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $71^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ}$ . There is here a strong castle, [٩٩] which they call

<sup>1</sup> Between Tūqāt and Zilah.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the town of this name lying between Samsūn and Ladīk.

<sup>3</sup> Many variants. Cannot be identified.



Arqalūdiyah. Ptolemy, the author of the *Almagest*, was from Malaṭiyah. It is a large town, with an excellent climate, and running waters, and extensive pastures; its crops being corn, cotton, grapes and much fruit.

Nīgdah. A medium-sized town of the Fifth Clime; its revenues amount to 41,500 dīnārs.

Niksār. A medium-sized town, having many gardens, with fruit in plenty. Its revenues amount to 187,000 dīnārs.

Hūshyār<sup>1</sup>. A fortress on the borders of the Qarāmān province. This last is a mountainous region, with forests, where there are many castles, and its frontiers are Little Armenia; Syria, with the coast lands of the Mediterranean and the Frank Sea. Its people go armed, they are robbers, brigands and highwaymen; being ever at war with (the Moslems) of Rūm. Their chiefs are of the race of the Saljūqs.

Yalqān Bāzār<sup>2</sup>. A provincial town between Qūniyah and Āq-Shahr. There is here a hot spring, the equal of which is found in no other part of the earth, and they have erected over it a magnificent building.

Zamandū<sup>3</sup>. A medium-sized town. Its revenues amount to 14,600 dīnārs.

Qīr-Shahr. A large town, with fine buildings. It has a good climate, and its revenues amount to 57,000 dīnārs.

Gadūk<sup>4</sup>. A small town, with a cold climate. Its revenues amount to 16,500 dīnārs.

Ṭūz-Āghāch<sup>5</sup>. A medium-sized town, whose revenues amount to 19,500 dīnārs.

Ziyārat-Bāzār<sup>6</sup>. A provincial town and a most pleasant place. Its revenues amount to 1600 dīnārs.

Agrīdūr. A provincial town. Its revenues amount to 4000 dīnārs.

Qavāq<sup>7</sup>. A great fort, and one that is very strongly built, on the flank of a mountain.

Qūsh-Ḥiṣār. A medium-sized town. Its revenues amount to 27,000 [100] dīnārs.

Sivri-Ḥiṣār. A medium-sized town. Its revenues amount to 25,000 dīnārs.

Qulūniyah. A town lying on the sea coast near Constantinople.

Kastaghi<sup>8</sup>. A small town on the sea shore.

Malaqūbiyah. Yāqūt says that this town lies near Qūniyah,

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Either Ilghin, or Yorgan Ladik (Laodicea Combusta). But at neither place apparently, at the present day, is there a thermal spring.

<sup>3</sup> 'Azīziyyah on the Zamenti Chay; the Byzantine Tzamandus.

<sup>4</sup> To the north of Qaysariyah.

<sup>5</sup> Near Ḥājī Bektash, in the Salt Desert; or possibly the place of this name to the west of Afyūn Qarā Ḥiṣār.

<sup>6</sup> Unknown.

<sup>7</sup> Uncertain.

<sup>8</sup> Many variants, uncertain.

in the mountains of the province of Cappadocia. In its neighbourhood lie the fortresses of Qavah and Āqtanghūsh.

**SECTION 8.** Concerning the places in the province of Armenia. This same is in two divisions, namely Greater and Lesser Armenia.

Lesser Armenia does not really form part of Īrān. It has Greater Armenia to the eastward, with the kingdom of Rūm to the north, the province of Syria to the south, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. Its chief dependencies are the Sīs country, Cyprus and Trebizond. From this country 30,000 dīnārs yearly are paid into the treasury of Īrān, by way of tribute.

Greater Armenia is within the borders of Īrān; it is accounted for 10,000 men (to the army), and it is known as the Akhlāt tūmān. The climate, for the most part, is temperate. Its frontiers are Little Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia, Kurdistān, Ādharbāyjān and Arrān. In length it extends from Arzan-ar-Rūm to Salmās, and its breadth is from Arrān to the further end of the Akhlāt district. Akhlāt is the capital of this province, and its revenues in former days amounted to near 2,000,000 dīnārs of the present currency; but now the total sum paid is only 390,000 dīnārs.

**Akhlāt** (or Khilāt). Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $77^{\circ} 55'$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ} 29'$ . Its climate is temperate, and it has many gardens with fruits in abundance. Its revenues amount to 51,500 dīnārs.

**Abtūt**<sup>1</sup>. An insignificant provincial town, whose revenues amount to 1000 dīnārs.

**Arjīsh**. Formerly a considerable town, in longitude [ $1.1$ ]  $73^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ}$ . The Vazīr Khwājah Tāj-ad-Dīn 'Alī Shāh of Tabrīz fortified it, and now it has a strong castle. Its crops are corn and cotton, and its revenues amount to 80,000 dīnārs.

**Armūk** (or Aršūk)<sup>2</sup>. A castle on the shore of the Lake of Vān. It is a large place, and most pleasant. Its revenues amount to 16,600 dīnārs.

**Alātāq**. A district with excellent pasture-lands and many hunting-grounds. Arghūn Khān the Mongol built a palace here, and was wont to sojourn here most of the summer. Its revenues amount to 6500 dīnārs.

**Bargirī**. A small town, that was a large place formerly, standing on the summit of a hill. It has a fine river that comes down from Alātāq, and it possesses numerous gardens and much fruit. Inside the walls stands a strong castle, that occupies the one side of the town. Its revenues amount to 25,000 dīnārs.

**Bayān**<sup>3</sup>. A provincial town, with many gardens and much fruit. Its revenues amount to 16,000 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> The position of this, and the following seven towns and castles, is quite uncertain; except Khūshāb, which lies to the south-east of the Vān Lake.

**Kharādīn.** A small town that was formerly larger.<sup>2</sup> Its revenues amount to 5300 dīnārs.

**Khūshāb.** A provincial town. Its revenues amount to 1000 dīnārs.

**Kharmaramt and Lūqiyāmāt.** (Each) a small town, with gardens and much fruit, with an excellent climate. The revenues amount to 16,600 dīnārs.

**Hangāmābād.** Formerly a large town, but now reduced to the size of a village. Its revenues amount to 900 dīnārs.

**Salam.** A provincial town. Its revenues amount to 7200 dīnārs.

**ʿAyn.** A medium-sized town; its revenues amount to 15,000 dīnārs.

**Kabūd.** A small town; its revenues amount to 4300 dīnārs.

**Malāzjird.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude [1.17] 76°, and latitude 38° 45'. It has, at the present time, a very large and strong fortress. It is a pleasant place with a good climate, and its revenues amount to 14,000 dīnārs.

**Vān and Vastān.** Of the Fourth Clime. Vān is a fortress and Vastān was a large town formerly, but now only of medium size. Its longitude is 73°, and its latitude 37°. It has an excellent climate, and its water is from streams that rise in the neighbouring mountains, and flow out to the Vān Lake. It has many gardens, with fruit in plenty, and excellent. Its revenues amount to 53,400 dīnārs.

**Valāsjird<sup>1</sup>.** A fortress, with a market town at its foot. Its crops are corn, cotton and a little fruit; and its revenues amount to 7000 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown. Said by Yāqūt to be near Akhlāt.

## CHAPTER X

The Jazīrah province, otherwise Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabī'ah. Mosul, Irbil, Āmid. Jazīrah of Ibn 'Omar. Harrān and the Star Fort. Iḥṣān Kayfā. Rās-al-'Ayn. Raqqah and the Castle of Ja'bar: the Martyrs of Siffin. Ruhā and the Church of Edessa. Sanjār: houses one above the other. The Market of the Eighty. 'Imādiyyah. Qirqisiyā (Circesium). Mādin and the river Šūr. Mayyāfāriqin. Naṣībīn and the river Hirmās: the spell against gnats and locusts. Nineveh: the Shrine of Jonah (Yūnus). The Province of Kurdistān. Alānī and Alishtar. Dīnavar. Sultānābād Jamjīmāl. Kirmānshāh and the Stall of Shabdīz: the Park. Kanguvar and Vastām. The province of Khūzistān. Tustar and the great Weir. Ahwāz. Dīzfūl and the Andī-mishk Bridge: 'Golden Trees.' Rāmuz. Sūs: the Tomb of Daniel. 'Askar Mukram and the Dū Dānik Canal. Masīuqān

SECTION 9. Concerning (the provinces of) Diyār Bakr and Rabī'ah.

In the *Šurwar-al-Aqālīm* these provinces go by the name of Jazīrah; they comprise 29 cities, and they have a warm climate. The frontiers march with those of Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Kurdistān and Arabian 'Irāq. Mosul is the capital city. The revenues of this province in the days of the Atabegs, and down to the time of Badr-ad-Dīn Lūlū<sup>1</sup>, amounted to 10,000,000 dīnārs, but at present the total is only 1,925,000 dīnārs.

**Mosul** (Mawṣil). Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 77°, and latitude 35°32'; standing on the Tigris. The circuit of its walls is 8000 paces. It has a Friday Mosque, with a Mihrāb of cut-stone, and carved so well that nowhere, even in wood-carving, could the like be done. Badr-ad-Dīn Lūlū erected here many noble buildings, but at the present time most of them lie in ruins. Its revenues amount to 328,000 dīnārs.

**Irbīl** (Arbela). Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 77°, and latitude 34°. A large town with a strong castle. Its crops are corn and [۱۰۴] excellent cotton, and its revenues amount to 22,000 dīnārs. It is of the Diyār Rabī'ah district.

**Arzan** (or Arzanah). A large town with a very strong fortress. Its crops are corn, and excellent cotton. The revenues amount to 275,500 dīnārs.

**Āmid**. Of the Diyār Rabī'ah: of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 73°40', and latitude 35°. It stands on the bank of the Tigris, and is a medium-sized town. The revenues amount to 30,000 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> Prince of Mosul, reigned 52 years, and died 657 (1259).

**Bāṣabdah.** A medium-sized town. Its crops are cereals, cotton and a little fruit, and the revenue amounts to 24,300 dīnārs.

**Bāṭarnūh**<sup>1</sup>. A medium-sized town: and its revenues amount to 15,000 dīnārs.

**Bartallā.** A provincial town, and a very healthy, pleasant place. It grows fruit, also corn and excellent cotton; and its revenues amount to 13,200 dīnārs.

**Bawāzīj.** A small town, the revenues of which amount to 14,000 dīnārs.

**Jasār**<sup>2</sup>. Described in the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* as a small town, standing among gardens; on the hills round corn is grown.

**Jazīrah** (of Ibn ʿOmar). Of the Fourth Clime. King Ardashīr Bābakān built it, and it is a large town, with near a hundred villages of its dependencies. It has many vineyards, and its revenues amount to 170,200 dīnārs.

**Hānī and Sīlwān.** These are towns of medium size, of the Fourth Clime. The revenues amount to 171,000 dīnārs.

**Ḥarrān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 75°, and latitude 34°. It was founded by Arphaxad, son of Shem son of Noah. It has a fortress built of cut stone, the circuit of which is 1350 paces, the height of the walls being 50 ells, and this is called Qalʿah Najm, (the Star Fort). One of the villages of Ḥarrān called Dih Tallān is said [١٠٤] to have been the birth-place of Abraham, the Friend of God; but the more true account is that he was born near Bābil (Babylon) in the village of Nūras, and that in the Ḥarrān village he lay concealed (from Nimrod). In Ḥarrān there are many of the Sabaeans.

**Ḥiṣn Kayfā.** A large town formerly, but now for the most part in ruin, though part is still inhabited. Its revenues amount to 82,500 dīnārs.

**Khābūr.** Of the Fourth Clime. It was built by king Qubād the Sassanian.

**Rās-al-ʿAyn.** Of Diyār Rabīʿah, and the Fourth Clime, in longitude 73° 20', and latitude 34° 20'. It is 5000 paces in circuit. It has an excellent climate, and good fruit, such as grapes, with corn and cotton, all grow well here.

**Raqqah.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 74° 17', and latitude 34° 40'. It is now in ruin. In the Greek tongue it was called Callinicus. In the *Diary* of Malik-Shāh it is related that, in the time of the Caliph Qādir, a certain man of the name of Jaʿbar, who was governor of these districts, built on the bank of the Euphrates, opposite the city of Raqqah, a castle of great stones; and its circuit was one thousand paces. Then a century later his grandson Sābiq ibn Jaʿbar, possessing that castle, took to the practices of a highwayman, and in consequence all the

<sup>1</sup> Variant Nāzarbūh, unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Reading uncertain, unknown.

roads thence to Syria, and Diyār Bakr, and ʿIrāq. were stopped. On this Sultan Malik-Shāh had the castle taken by assault, and Sābiq with his sons executed, and the roads once more became safe and open. Among wondrous sights is the following: this castle lies opposite the village of Şiffin, which was the battlefield where the Caliph ʿAlī encountered Muʿāwiyah; and along the Euphrates bank, all around and about, where the martyrs fell, those of both sides lie buried; now to one afar off the bodies of these martyrs are all visible lying in their coffins, but when you come close up it is impossible to see any one of them.

**Ruhā** (Edessa). Of the Fourth Clime. In the *Diary* of Malik-Shāh it is stated to be 5800 paces in circuit. It is built of cut-stone, and within the city is a church, also built of stone, with a dome rising in its centre to a height of over a hundred ells above the pavement. Ibn Khurdābih [i. .] says that in all the world no one has ever built a finer or greater edifice than this. At the present day, however, it is a ruin.

**Sāʿird**. A large town of the Fourth Clime, with a good climate. They make here excellent utensils of brass; also their goblets are famous and incomparable. The revenues amount to 46,500 dīnārs.

**Sanjār**. Of Diyār Rabīʿah, of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $75^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . The circuit of its walls is 3200 paces; they are built of mortared stone, and the town lies on a hill, on the southern slope, being so built that the roofs of each row of houses form the pavement of the street of the next row above. It has numerous gardens where sumach, olives, figs and other fruits grow abundantly, also excellent grapes. The revenues amount to 147,500 dīnārs.

**Sūq Thamānīn** (The Market of the Eighty). A village that lay at the foot of Mount Jūdī, and which Noah built after that he had escaped from the Flood; thus it was the first shrine that was raised on the earth's face after the Deluge. It is now a ruin.

**ʿAqr**. Of the Fourth Clime; built by king Kay Kāūs the Kayanian. It stands on an artificial hill; there are many vineyards here, but the wine is bad. Its revenues amount to 27,400 dīnārs.

**ʿImādiyyah**. A large town that was restored by ʿImād-ad-Dawlah the Daylamite<sup>1</sup>, being named from him. It has an excellent climate, and its revenues amount to 68,000 dīnārs.

**Qirqīsiyā** (Circesium). Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $74^{\circ} 40'$ , and latitude  $34^{\circ} 20'$ . It took its name from Qirqīsiyā, son of Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder.

**Karmalīs**. A medium-sized town. Its revenues amount to 11,200 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> Brother of Muʿizz-ad-Dawlah. Died 338 (949).

**Mārdīn.** Of Diyār Rabīʿah, and of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $74^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . It stands on a hill, and has a castle situated on the summit of a rock that [١٠٦] overlooks the town. In this province is a river, that resembles the river of Zanjān-Rūd, and it is called the river Ṣūr. The gardens of Mārdīn take their water from it; and the lands that are irrigated by it comprise an area of about ten leagues in length by a league across. Here corn, cotton and fruits are grown. Most of the crops of this district are indeed irrigated by the waters of this river. The revenues amount to 236,200 dīnārs.

**Mūsh.** In former times a large city, but now a ruin. There are here fine plains, with most excellent pasture-lands, extending from the Euphrates, on the one side, to the Tigris on the other. The revenues amount to 69,500 dīnārs.

**Mayyāfāriqīn.** Of Diyār Rabīʿah, and of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $75^{\circ} 15'$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . It is a large town with a good climate, and much fruit. Its revenues amount to 224,000 dīnārs.

**Naṣībīn.** Of Diyār Rabīʿah, of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $75^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . The circuit of its walls is 6500 paces. Its water is from the Hirmās river, and the climate is damp. Fruit and grapes grow abundantly, and the wine here is not bad, and it is a preservative against the dampness of the air. The roses are the finest throughout all the lands of Īrān; but the scorpions are deadly and the gnats numerous. In the *Jāmiʿ-al-Hikāyāt*<sup>1</sup> it is stated that, in times past, by means of an incantation both gnats and locusts were bound, so that neither could ever come into the city. Now in the days of Saladin, when they were building walls round the town, they came on some jars with their mouths sealed up; wherefore they imagined this was a treasure, and taking them up they opened them, but found only gnats and locusts within. Upon this these were restored to their former state, but their efficacy was destroyed.

**Nineveh.** Standing on the Tigris, its circuit is 6000 paces. The shrine of the Prophet Yūnus (Jonah) stands on the south side of the town, being exactly 1000 paces distant therefrom, neither more nor less. [١٠٧]

SECTION 10. Concerning the lands of Kurdistān; and comprising 16 districts.

Its frontiers march with Arabian ʿIrāq, Khūzistān, Persian ʿIrāq, Ādharbāyjān and Diyār Bakr. The revenues, in the times of Sulaymān Shāh Abūh (the Saljūq), amounted to near 2,000,000 dīnārs of the present currency, but now the amount on the registers is only 201,500 dīnārs.

**Alānī**<sup>2</sup>. A moderate-sized market town. It has a fine climate,

<sup>1</sup> Of Muḥammad ʿAwfi. Cf. Iḥajji Khalfah No. 3899.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown, many variants.

and running waters. Its crops are cereals, also there are excellent pasture-lands, and numerous good hunting-grounds.

**Alishtar**<sup>1</sup>. A medium-sized town, pleasantly situated. There existed here (of old) the Fire-temple of Arūkhsh.

**Bahār**. A castle, which, in the days of Sulaymān Shāh, was his capital.

**Khuftiyan**<sup>2</sup>. A strong castle, standing on the bank of the Zāb river, with some villages round and about it.

**Darband-i-Tāj Khātūn**. Formerly a medium-sized town, but now a ruin. It was a most pleasant and excellent place.

**Darband-i-Zangī**. A small town, with a good and temperate climate, having abundant running waters, and numerous pasture-lands. The people, however, are robbers and highwaymen—an abominable folk.

**Dizbīl**<sup>3</sup>. A medium-sized town, with an excellent climate and water.

**Dīnavar**. A town of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 83°, and latitude 35°. It is a small place, with a temperate climate and abundant water, producing crops of corn, fruit and some small quantities of grapes. The people are better folk than most of their neighbours.

**Sultānābād Jamjimāl**. A provincial town, of the Fourth Clime, standing at the foot of the mountain of Bīsūtūn. It was built by Uljaytū the Mongol. It is an excellent and pleasant place, producing much corn.

**Shahrazūr**. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 81° 20', and latitude 34° 20'. This town, of old, was called Nīm-Ardāh, being the half way stage between Madāin [ܡܕܝܢܐ] and the Fire-temple of Adharbāyjan. It was built by king Qubād the Sassanian. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is said that this place is named Shahr-zūr (City of Strength) because its governors are always of the Kurds, and he whose strength was greater became the governor.

**Kirmānshāh**. In books the name is given as Qarmāsīn. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 83°, and latitude 34° 20'. It was built by king Bahrām son of Sapor II, the Sassanian; and king Qubād restored it, building here for his own use a mighty palace. His son, Anūshirvān the Just, erected a platform, measuring one hundred ells square, and here at a great banquet the Emperor of China, the Khāqān of the Turks, the Rāja of India, and the Caesar of Rome, all (in obeisance) kissed his hand. Kirmānshāh was formerly a medium-sized town, but is now merely a village. In the neighbourhood of the town is the Stall of Shabdīz (the famous horse) of king Khusraw Parvīz, which he caused to be built. In the plain near by, also, he laid out a park two leagues

<sup>1</sup> Town unknown, the plain of Alishtar exists.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown, many variants.

<sup>3</sup> Many variants, unknown.



square; and part thereof he planted with trees that bore all kinds of fruit, of both the hot lands and the cold country; and the remaining part he laid out in meadow-lands as a race-course, and there various kinds of animals were allowed to roam free, which same bred and brought forth their young.

**Kirind and Khūshān.** These are two villages lying at the summit of the Hūlwān pass. Kirind is now a ruin, but Khūshān is inhabited. It has a temperate climate; and its streams flow down from the neighbouring mountains. There are here numerous gardens and fields.

**Kanguvar.** This was known as Qaṣr-al-Luṣūṣ (Robbers' Castle), because the people here were much addicted to thieving. King Khusraw Parvīz built a castle here, using columns in huge blocks, such that each more or less was of ten thousand *Mann*-weight, and yet in this neighbourhood there are no existing stones so large as this. Also Mūnis the chamberlain built a very magnificent and great mosque in Kanguvar.

**Māydasht<sup>1</sup>.** A district containing some fifty villages, lying in a plain and surrounded by level country. There are excellent meadow-lands here, the climate is temperate, and the water is from streams that rise in the neighbouring hills. [۱۰۹]

**Harsīn.** A castle, with a town below the same. It has a temperate climate, and running streams.

**Vastām<sup>2</sup>.** A large village, opposite the Stall of Shabdīz (noticed above). It has a temperate climate, and its water is from the river Kūlkū, which rises in the neighbouring mountain of Bisutūn.

SECTION 11. Concerning the province of Khūzistān, in which are twelve towns.

It has a hot climate, and its boundaries march with 'Irāq 'Arab, Kurdistān, Luristān and Fārs. The revenues, in the days of the Caliphs, exceeded 3,000,000 dīnārs of the money of these days; at the present time the amount on the registers is only 325,000 dīnārs; there is, however, a good surplus. The capital of the province is the town of Tustar.

**Tustar.** The name is commonly pronounced Shustar (or Shūshtar). It is of the Third Clime, in longitude 84° 20', and latitude 31° 20'. It was built by king Hūshang the Pīshadian; and having fallen to ruin was restored by Ardashīr Bābakān, who laid out the plan to resemble the shape of a horse. King Sapor II, when he had returned to Īrān after overcoming the Caesar of Rome, and thus becoming his sovereign lord, imposed on Caesar the task of setting aright all the ruin that he had caused in the land of Īrān. Further he, the Caesar, was set to divide into three channels the river of Shustar, and to build across these a mighty

<sup>1</sup> Now called Māhī-dasht.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Tāq-i-Bustān.

weir, that set flowing the Canal of Dashtābād, which is the chief glory of the district of Shustar. Ibn Khurdādbih asserts that no greater weir than this was ever built across a river; but the Band-i-Amīr (Bendemir) which ʿAḍud-ad-Dawlah the Daylamite threw across the river Kur (Cyrus) in Fārs—many years after the writing of Ibn Khurdādbih's book—is a far mightier weir than this of Shustar. Sapor II erected a great palace in Shustar. The circuit of the town is 500 paces. It has four gates. The climate is extremely hot, for mostly during spring and summer the hot simoon wind blows, continuing also all night, so that the people cannot sleep out on the roofs of their houses. The water, however, here is very digestive, whereby in spite of the great heat heavy meals may be eaten, and no evil ensue. The lands are very fertile, so that ploughing the land [۱۱.] with an ass is all that is needed. Corn, cotton and the sugar-cane all grow excellently, and provisions are always cheap, so that even in seasons of dearth food is cheaper here than in Shīrāz in times of plenty. The men are dark-skinned and lean. They follow the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah. They are people to be depended upon, peaceable folk, occupied with their own affairs, and not given to rioting and disorder. Few possess any great amount of capital, and rarely do they become rich. There are many fine hunting-grounds near by, and in the *Diary* of Malik-Shāh it is stated that especially these four are very famous, namely: that of Rakhshābād, 15 leagues by 12 leagues square; next Dawraq and Hindūyān, which is 20 leagues by 10 across; then Mashhad Kāfī, which is 10 leagues by 6 square; and lastly Ḥawīzah, which is 20 leagues by 12 leagues square. There are round Tustar many excellent meadow-lands. By reason of the great heat in this country, strangers cannot remain here after the spring season, and all corn that has not been reaped while the sun is in the sign of Taurus, when it gets into Gemini, can no longer be cut, for it is perished. The revenues of Tustar belong to the Treasury. Outside the town there stands a strong castle.

**Ahwāz.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude 88°, and latitude 31°. It was built by king Ardashir Bābakān, who made of it a place with great dependencies, so that in fact the whole province came to be called after its name (for Ahwāz is plural of Hūz, for Khūz, and hence Khūzistān).

**Turb<sup>1</sup>.** Of the Third Clime. A small town of the hot region, lying on the shore of the sea. At the ebb and flow, the tide throws up fish on the shore, and these form the sustenance of the inhabitants. The men here are strongly built, and tall of stature, powerfully made and dark-skinned. There are many gardens here, with oranges, shaddocks, lemons and dates, all of which grow well and abundantly.

<sup>1</sup> Many variants, not known.

**Jundī Shāpūr.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $84^{\circ} 5'$ , and latitude  $31^{\circ} 15'$ . Sapor I built it, and later Sapor II erected here many fine buildings. It is a medium-sized town of the hot region. Its climate is bad; but the sugar-cane grows here abundantly.

**Hawīzah.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $84^{\circ} 5'$ , and latitude [III]  $30^{\circ}$ . It was built by Sapor II, and is a city of medium size, of the hot region, with a better climate than that of any other town in Khūzistān. Its crops are corn, cotton and sugar-cane, which last grows here abundantly. Many Sabaeans live here.

**Dizfūl.** Otherwise called Andīmishk. Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $84^{\circ} 5'$ , and latitude  $31^{\circ}$ . It was built by king Ardashīr Bābakān, on both banks of the Jundī Shāpūr river. A bridge was then erected across the stream, having 42 arches; the length of the bridge being 520 paces, and its width 15 paces. This was known as the Bridge of Andīmishk and the town is called after it. From the eastern river bank, above the town, they have cut a canal through the rock, and this flows into the river again below the town. They have built great water-wheels on this canal, which raise the water to a head of fifty ells, and all the chief places of the city are served thereby. It is a medium-sized town, with many dependencies. In the neighbourhood of the villages of Shānjird and Maṭarān there is a meadow, half a league across either way, that is covered with narcissus growing wild; and there are here also the trees known as 'Golden Trees' which bear innumerable yellow blossoms, that are everlasting, but which produce no fruit.

**Dastgir.** Of the Third Clime. King Hurmuz, grandson of Ardashīr Bābakān, built it, and it has a strong castle. Its climate is very warm and damp.

**Rāmuz.** In longitude  $85^{\circ} 45'$ , and latitude  $31^{\circ}$ . It was built by king Hurmuz, who named it Rām-Hurmuz; this in time became corrupted to Rāmuz. It is a medium-sized town with a warm climate. Corn, cotton and much sugar-cane are grown here.

**Sūs.** Of the Third Clime. A medium-sized town with a warm climate. It was built by Mahalaleel son of Cainan son of Enos son of Seth son of Adam, this being the first city that was founded in Khūzistān. Hūshang added to its buildings, and erected here a great castle, with another castle over it [IV] that was most strong. Sapor II restored the buildings of the town, naming it Shāpūr Khūrah, laying out its plan to resemble the shape of a falcon. The tomb of the Prophet Daniel lies on the western side of the town, in the middle of the river bed, and the fish here are so tame that they do not flee away from men, and nobody does them any harm.

**Ṭarāzak**<sup>1</sup>. A medium-sized town. The sugar-cane grows better and more abundantly here than anywhere else in Khūzistān, being larger in size and finer.

**ʿAskar Mukram**. Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $84^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $31^{\circ} 45'$ . Sapor II restored it, naming it Būrj Shāpūr. It stands on both banks of the Dū Dānik Canal of the Shustar river, and originally bore the name of Lashkar, having been founded by Lashkar son of Tahmūrath the Demon-binder. It is a large town, with the best climate of all the cities of Khūzistān, but there are many deadly scorpions here.

**Masruqān**. Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $85^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $31^{\circ}$ . Ardashīr Bābakān dug a canal from the (Shustar) river, and laid out this district along the canal. It is a medium-sized town with many dependencies, all of the hot region.

<sup>1</sup> Variants, and unknown.

## CHAPTER XI

The Province of Fārs. Traditions of the Prophet. Revenues at various times. The five Districts. The District of Aīdashīr Khūrah. Shīrāz: foundation and early history: the Amīr's Market: wall and gates: filth of the streets: the water-channels. traditionists and Saints: notable Shīmes: the Old and the New Mosque: the Hospital: saints buried in Shīrāz: revenues: its District called the Jūmah or Hawmah. The Coast Districts. Tawwaj. Khunayfān. Sarvīstān: the Sirāfemporium. Simkān and its bridge. Fīrūzābād or Jūr: its history. Kārzīn and Qīr Irāhīstān. Kavār. Māndīstān. Maymand. Huzū. The District of Istakhr. Persepolis: early history: the three Castles: the Palace of Jamshīd: the Winged-steed: towers of Silence: the Hot Bath: later history of Persepolis: traditions of King Solomon and Queen Humāy. Abraj. Abarqūh: the Shrine of Ṭāūs-al-Haramayn, and the great Cypress. Iqlīd. Bavvān and Marvast. Baydā the White City. Khurramah. Rāmjird and towns on the river Kur. Sāhik and Harāt. Qumīshah. Kirbāl: the Band-i-Amīr Dam, and the Fuller's Dam. Yazdūkhwāst and the Myrtle Village

SECTION 12. Concerning the places in the land and on the sea of the Fārs province.

It is stated in the *Fārs Nāmah*<sup>1</sup> that the province of Fārs was the seat of empire of the Kings of Irān; for it is well known that, while they exercised sovereignty over the whole of the Land of Irān, they called themselves simply the Kings of Fārs. Their power and might was such that the world paid them tribute; and concerning this their power and might the Qurān (ch. XVII. v. 5) bears witness in the verse *We sent against you our servants endued with terrible power*. Now the Prophet in the matter of Fārs said: *Verily God hath preferred amongst His creatures of the Arabs the Quraysh, and among the Persians the men of Fārs*: for which reason the people of this province [۱۱۴] were known as 'the Best of the Persians.' Further Yāqūt reports as a Tradition of the Prophet that he said: *The furthest from Islām of all people are the Greeks; but had Islām been fixed even among the Pleiades the men of Fārs would have attained thereunto*.

The province of Fārs extends over both land and sea, and we shall describe each part separately. The revenue thereof, according to the settlements and treaties made by the Caliphs °Omar and °Alī, and followed by other later rulers, was established in categories, for some lands paid a half, others a third, others again a quarter or a fifth, or lastly a tithe only, according to the value of the crops which they produced. In the reign of the Caliph Wāthiq a settlement was made and this amounted to the

<sup>1</sup> See *J.R.A.S.* 1912, p. 1.

sum of 33 million dirhams, together with 150,000 ass-loads of wheat. Next, in the year 302 (914), the Vazīr ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā by command of the Caliph Muqtadir fixed the amount of the taxes at the sum of 63 million dirhams, which is equivalent to ten and a half million (currency) dīnārs of the present day. In the time of the Buyids the revenues produced 55 million *‘Awwāl* dīnārs, which is about the same sum, but in addition they had to give account to the Caliph for 800,000 dīnārs; though for the most part they never paid in this sum. In the days of the Saljūqs, by reason of the constant marching to and fro of conquering armies, the revenues reached only 2,335,000 currency dīnārs, which is about the same as the sum before mentioned. At the present day the amount on the registers is 2,871,200 currency dīnārs; and throughout the province what is collected in the districts almost entirely is paid into the (local) Revenue, while in the towns the taxes belong to the Treasury, as will be detailed later on.

The Land province of Fārs, as against the Sea province, was of old divided into five districts, namely Ardashīr Khūrah<sup>1</sup>, Iṣṭakhr, Dārābjird, Shāpūr Khūrah and Qubād Khūrah, and in each were, and still are, comprised divers lands and townships. The outer frontiers of these districts (of Fārs) march with Persian ‘Irāq, Khūzistān, Luristān, Shabānkārah and the Sea of Fārs (or Persian Gulf). The Province in length extended 150 leagues, from Qūmishah to Qays (Island); and in breadth 320 leagues, from Yazd to (Khūzistān the land of the) Hūz; while its area was eighteen thousand square leagues<sup>2</sup>. [۱۱۴]

The district of Ardashīr Khūrah took its name from Ardashīr Bābakān, the earliest of the Chosroes. Now in this district the capital, in the beginning, was a town called Fīrūzābād, but of the whole of the Fārs province Iṣṭakhr soon became the capital city, for the district of Iṣṭakhr was the most ancient of all the districts. It is fitting none the less for us to begin with the Ardashīr Khūrah district, because at the present time the capital of Fārs is the city of Shīrāz, and this lies in the Ardashīr Khūrah district.

**Shīrāz.** Of the Third Clime, and a city built since the days of Islām, being the centre of Islām in those lands. It stands in longitude 83°, and latitude 29° 36'. According to tradition it was founded by Shīrāz son of Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder, and afterwards fell to ruin. By another version, in old times there stood on this site a city called Fārs, being named after Fārs, son of Māsūr, son of Shem, son of Noah. The most reliable account, however, is that after the preaching of Islām Shīrāz was founded,

<sup>1</sup> Written generally *Khūrah* in the MSS.: the Arabic form being *Khurrah*, meaning ‘the Glory’ of Kings Ardashīr, Shāpūr and Qubād.

<sup>2</sup> Read 48,000.

or restored, by Muḥammad, brother (of the Viceroy) Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf,—another version giving it as restored by his cousin Muḥammad ibn Qāsim,—the date of this restoration being the year 74 of the Hijrah (693), while the sign of Virgo was in the ascendant. In the days of ʿAḍud-ad-Dawlah (the Buyid) the city had come to be so populous that there was no more any dwelling-place for his troops, so to the westward of Shīrāz he built a township wherein to quarter his soldiers. This was named Fanā Khusraw Gird, which the common people called Sūq-al-Amīr, 'the Amīr's Market.' This township became in his time so extensive that its taxes amounted to 20,000 dīnārs; at the present day, however, it is a ruin, being a mere village of the district round Shīrāz. Until the days of Ṣamsām-ad-Dawlah, son of ʿAḍud-ad-Dawlah, Shīrāz had no town wall; he, however, to keep out his enemies, surrounded it with a wall, the circuit of which was 12,500 paces. When subsequently this wall fell to ruin, Sharaf-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh Injū rebuilt it, and set along its summit towers of burnt brick, with cabins for the guards.

The city of Shīrāz has seventeen quarters, and nine gates, namely those of Iṣṭakhr, Darāk Mūsā, Bayḍā, Kāzirūn, Sallam, Fasā, next the New Gate, with the Gates of Fortune and Felicity. The city is extremely pleasant to live in; but its streets, by reason that now-a-days the people have made no privies, are very filthy, [11.] hence it is impossible for any one to go about in these streets and not be defiled. The climate is temperate, and here all trades may be followed. At most times sweet-smelling herbs are not wanting, and are commonly sold in the market. The water is from underground channels, and the best is from the conduit of Ruknābād, which was dug by Rukn-ad-Dawlah son of Būyah; but the largest of the water-channels is that of Qalāt Bandar, otherwise known as Kut Saʿdī, which never needs repairs. During the spring floods the freshet rushes down from Mount Darāk, and passing outside the town flows off into the Māhalūyah Lake. The crops are of medium produce, and very often provisions go up to famine prices. Of fruits, the grapes known as *Mithqālī* are excellent. Here too the cypresses are celebrated for their fine growth. The population are lean and brown-skinned; they are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿite sect: some few being Ḥanafites, and there are also Shīʿahs. Further there are many great Sayyids of noble lineage here, who hold Traditions of the Prophet, and as traditionists they are for the most part excellently esteemed. The people of Shīrāz are much addicted to holy poverty, and they are of strict orthodoxy; so that they are content to do but little trade. Hence there are many poor folk, though they refrain from begging, and do not fail to practise some means of livelihood; while the wealthy folk are mostly foreigners. Hence few Shīrāzīs are very wealthy, and most of the people strive after good works, and in piety and

obediēce to the Almighty have attained a high degree of godliness. Never is this city devoid of saintly persons, for which reason it was also called the Tower of Saints (Burj-i-Awliyā); but indeed, at the present day, it should rather be called the Robbers' Haunt (Makman-i-Ashqiyā) by reason of the lack of justice, and avaricious frowardness that is too common here.

The Old Friday Mosque of the city was built by ʿAmr the Saffarid, and they say that never is this building devoid of the presence of some saintly person; further they say that between the Mecca Niche and the Pulpit any prayers offered up are always answered. The New Friday Mosque was built by Atabeg Saʿd ibn Zangī the Salghurid; while the Sunqur Mosque in the Tent-makers' quarter is called after the Atabeg Sunqur ibn Mawdūd the Salghurid. The hospital (Dār-ash-Shafā) was founded by ʿAḍud-ad-Dawlah, and numerous are the other Friday Mosques, convents, colleges, chapels and oratories which rich folk have built throughout the city, and indeed their number is in excess of five hundred. Also there are many other pious foundations, though but few are governed with honesty, the same being for the most part in the hands of extortioners. There are [١١] many blessed shrines also; as for instance the tombs of Muḥammad and Aḥmad, the two sons of the Imām Mūsā-al-Kāzim: further the shrine of Shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allah Khafīf, which Atabeg Zangī the Salghurid built, adding thereto a pious foundation, and as well he caused to be repaired the tomb of Shaykh Bahlūl. And again there are the shrines of Bābā Kūhī, of Shaykh Rūz Bahān, of Shaykh Saʿdī (the Poet), of Karkhī, of Shaykh Ḥasan Giyāh Khur (Grass-eater), of Ḥājī Rukn-ad-Dīn Rāzgū (Solver of riddles), and of many more, seeing that in most of the colleges and darvīsh-convents, and smaller mosques, there are found the tombs of notable folk. But as to the common people, some are buried within the town, and others without it, in divers different places. The revenues of the city go to the Treasury, and at the present time they amount to 450,000 dīnārs. The whole of the Fārs province may be counted as the dependency of Shīrāz, but that which more especially belongs to the city, lying round and about it, is known as the Jūmah (or Ḥawmah)<sup>1</sup>, and this comprises 18 villages, all taking their water from underground channels. The climate of these places resembles that of Shīrāz, and their crops are corn and cotton, with some little fruit of divers kinds.

**The Coast Districts (Aʿmāl-i-Sif).** These are various districts lying on the sea-coast, all of the hot region, and mostly settled by Arabs. The climate here varies much. One of these

<sup>1</sup> The District round Shīrāz is now known as its *Ḥūmah*, but Jawmah appears to be the older form. See *Fārs Nāmah*, p. 21.



districts is known as the (Sif) Coast of Abū Zuhayr, another as the Coast of ʿUmārah; and they produce nothing but corn and dates.

**Būshkānāt**<sup>1</sup>. Divers districts, all of the hot region, producing dates. There is no town here, and the crops are dates and corn only.

**Tawwaj**<sup>2</sup>. Formerly a large town, with an Arab population, lying in the hottest of the hot regions, and in a desert country where no running water exists. It is now in ruins.

**Khabr**<sup>3</sup>. A medium-sized town, larger than Kavār, with a temperate climate; its water is wholesome. Its lands produce desert-wheat, also the fruits of both the hot and the cold region in excellent quality. It has a strong castle which is known as Tīr-i-Khudā (God's Arrow), and game both of the mountain and the plain is found here.

**Ḥatīzīr**<sup>4</sup>. A district entirely of the hot lands, where palm-trees [11v] grow. There is no town here, and its people go armed.

**Khunayfqān**<sup>5</sup>. A large village, of which the name is commonly pronounced Khunāfghān. It stands on the road to Fīrūzābād, the which road is very steep and narrow, going through a rough hill country, a mere bridle track, where the fear of footpads always besets the wayfarer. The climate here is temperate, but the people have the rough manners of mountaineers. The water is from the hills and mountains near by; and here is the source of the Burāzah river, which flows down to Fīrūzābād. The crops are wheat and much cotton.

**Ramzavān, Dādhīn and Davvān**<sup>6</sup>. All lands of the hot

<sup>1</sup> The town of Būshgān is now the capital of the Bulūk District.

<sup>2</sup> Tawwaj, often mentioned by the Arab geographers, has left its name to the modern district of the coast-lands near the mouth of the Shāpūr River. The site of the town is probably to be identified with the present Dih Kuhnah (Old Village), the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkārah sub-district of the Dashtustān District.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Khafr. The Castle of God's Arrow according to the *Fārs Nāmāh* was near Khayrah.

<sup>4</sup> Many variants, position unknown.

<sup>5</sup> Modern Hunīfqān (with the lesser *h*).

<sup>6</sup> It is uncertain whether the first word should be pronounced Ramm, or Zamm (in Arabic): cf. De Goeje in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, iv. p. 250. Dādhīn and Davvān are mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī. Davvān is still the name of a village lying 2½ leagues to the north of Kāzīrūn, but neither Dādhīn nor Ramm Zavān occurs on the map; and as regards the latter place there is some confusion in the spelling of the name. Its position is given in the Itinerary as lying half-way between Ghundijān and Tawwaj, being 6 leagues distant from either place (and for the position of these two towns see below in chapter xv). The name is spelt Rawā-adh-Dhīwān, which is varied to Ramm-adh-Dhīwān in the list of the Kurdish Ramm. Both these spellings, however, appear to be the Arabic form of the Persian Ramm Zavān (or Ravān possibly) mentioned here as a district and again below among the Castles. In the Arabic authorities there is much variety in the spelling by a shifting of the diacritical points. Iṣṭakhrī mentions it as the Kurdish Ramm of which Al-Husayn ibn Sālih was chief, and also spells the name variously Rawā-adh-Dhīwān and Ramm-ad-Dīwān. Yāqūt gives it under the heading Ramm-az-Zizān.

region,<sup>1</sup> but those that lie in the hill-country near by have a more temperate climate. The crops are corn, fruit and rice.

**Sarvistān and Kūbanjān**<sup>1</sup>. Districts of the hot region, that have a varied climate. The palm grows abundantly, and crops of corn and dates are produced.

**Sīrāf**. In former days this was a large city, and very rich, being the emporium of sea-trade (in the Persian Gulf); but during the Buyid supremacy the trade by sea was transferred from here to the emporium of Qays. The climate is extremely hot, and for water they collect the rain in cisterns. There are also three springs. The crops are corn and dates. Najīram and Khūrāshī are places in its dependencies<sup>2</sup>.

**Šimkān and Hīrak**<sup>3</sup>. Šimkān is a fine town, and is one of the wonders of the world. For through its midst a river flows, and over this river a bridge has been built; and the country above the bridge is of the cold region, where the hazel and the plane and other such trees grow; while below the bridge it is of the hot region, where oranges and shaddocks and the like grow. The wine made from the grapes here is so strong that, until it has been mixed with twice or thrice [۱۱۸] the quantity of water, it cannot be drunk. The people here are poor, but they have arable lands. Hīrak is a large village of this same district.

**Fīrūzābād**<sup>4</sup>. Of the Third Clime, in longitude 87° 20', and latitude 23° 45'. It was founded by king Fīrūz, who gave it the name of Jūr. In the midst of the city a great edifice has been built, so high that the air here was cool; and by means of a tube (or syphon) water was brought up to this height from the hills near. Round the summit a great platform had been built, which same was known as the Aywān (Hall). At the time when Alexander the Great was overcoming all these lands, he found himself unable to conquer this place, for on all sides you had to descend to it by passes. Thereupon he caused the Khunayfqān river to be turned from its bed, and directed its course so as to flow over the city, whereby he laid it in ruin, and made the place a lake. Ardashīr Bābakān wished to drain the lake dry, in order to restore the city to its former state. Burāzah his engineer cut a tunnel in the high bank, and when the water began to pour

<sup>1</sup> Modern Kūhinjān.

<sup>2</sup> The ruins of Sīrāf are at Bandar Tāhirī. Khūrāshī is spelt Hūshī, and Khūrāshī in the Paris MS. It is not mentioned by the Arab geographers. Najīram, according to Ištakhri, lay to the north of Sīrāf. Neither name now occurs on the map, but Najīram is probably identical with the present harbour of Bandar Dayyur in the Dashti District.

<sup>3</sup> Šimkān is now the name of the district of which the chief city, doubtless older Šimkān, is called Dizah. Hīrak, or Habrak (for the reading is uncertain), is no longer to be found on the map. According to the Itinerary it stood half-way between Šimkān (Dizah) and Kārzin.

<sup>4</sup> The ruins are now known as Kūshk 'the Kiosk,' the older name Jūr still lingering.

through he bound a chain about his waist to keep himself in safety, but the water had such power that the chain snapped, and so he perished. Now this tunnel in the lapse of time has fallen in, and it has become a gully. Thus king Ardashīr restored the city, calling it by the name of Ardashīr Khūrah. Later it was rebuilt by ʿAḍud-ad-Dawlah, who renamed it Fīrūzābād. It has a warm, damp climate, and its water is from the Khunayfqān river, which now is known as the Burāzah. The rose-water made here has a finer perfume, and is superior to that of all other lands. The population are distinguished for piety and honesty.

**Kārzīn, Qīr and Abzar**<sup>1</sup>. Kārzīn is a medium-sized town : and Qīr is a small town, as likewise is Abzar. All three are of the hot region, and there are abundant palm-trees here. The water is from the Zakān river; and in Kārzīn is a strong castle, to which water is drawn up from the Zakān. Haram and Kāriyān<sup>2</sup>, with many other places, are of the dependencies lying in the plain round this district.

**Kurān and Īrāhistān**<sup>3</sup>. These lie [۱۱۹] in the desert, being of the hottest region, so that in the summer only a very few people remain here. There are no underground water-channels, and all the corn grown here is dependent on the rains. Of fruits there are none except dates. They plant all their crops in the mountains, whereby they are amply watered by the rain in the winter, the trees also are kept green in the summer. Most of the people are brigands, highwaymen and footpads. (By reason of the heat) foreigners can only live here during the three winter months; and all the tribes here are much given to rebellion.

**Kavār**. A fine town with many dependencies. Its climate is rather warm, and its water is from the Zakān river. King Bahman ibn Isfandiyār built a dam across this river to raise its waters, and next he established villages among its arable lands. There is here much corn and fruit, most things necessary also being found here, and of fruits the morel-cherry and very excellent almonds. Much game too is met with near by. The author of the *Fārs Nāmah* adds that the people of this place are silly and stupid by nature. They are followers of the sect of Shāfiʿī.

**Lāghir and Kaharjān**<sup>4</sup>. Of the dependencies of Kārzīn, lying

<sup>1</sup> All three famous in the times of the Arab geographers. Kārzīn is now merely a village, Qīr is a township, and Abzar town was probably at Nīm Dih, the capital of the Afzar District, half a league east of Āb-i-Garm.

<sup>2</sup> The towns of Haram and Kāriyān lie 7 and 6½ leagues respectively to the north-west of Bid Shahr. Haram or Haru is probably identical with the stage which Muqaddasī calls Hurmuz, lying one march from Kārzīn. Iṣṭakhrī, who also mentions this Hurmuz, says it had no Friday Mosque, being but a small place.

<sup>3</sup> Neither now exists. For Kurān see Itinerary.

<sup>4</sup> The town of Lāghir exists near the bend of the Thakān (or Zakān) river, 6 leagues north-west of Khunj. Kaharjān is no longer to be found, but Iṣṭakhrī mentions it as upon the Thakān river (which he calls the Shādkān), Kaharjān coming below Nāband and above Dasht Dastaqān on the sea-coast. The district near by is still known as Māndistān, and is described in the following paragraph.

in the hot region, and the climate here is variable. The people are robbers and highwaymen. The crops are corn, cotton and dates.

**Māndistān.** A desert land, thirty leagues in length and breadth lying along the sea-coast. There are villages here, but neither running water nor underground channels, the only crops being corn and cotton, that appear after the rains. Then if Ādhar-māh and Daymāh (the ninth and tenth solar months), which end the autumn and begin winter, bring the rains, one measure of sown seed will produce a thousand-fold in the spring crop. On the other hand, if in these two months the rains fail, the spring crops give nothing, and dearth ensues. All those who in winter time are occupied there in agriculture take their departure when the hot weather comes on. The farmers at that time cut and stack the harvest, making but little of it, for a half must remain for the next crop, and only a moiety can be reaped for carrying away.

**Maymand<sup>1</sup>.** A small town of the hot region. It grows corn, dates, grapes and all kinds of fruit; but grapes especially. [۱۰.] The people there are craftsmen.

**Mūhū, Hamjān and Kabrīn<sup>2</sup>.** Three towns lying between Fasā and Shīrāz. The climate resembles that of Shīrāz. Running water is found, and some few gardens, with grapes and fruit of the cold region; also there is much game in the neighbourhood; but the people are robbers and insolent.

**Huzū and Sāviyah<sup>3</sup>.** Two villages, with many others round them of the same district, lying on the sea-coast. They all belong to the dependencies of the emporium of Qays; and lie in the hottest part of the hot region.

**The Iṣṭakhr District.** Since in the kingdom of Fārs no city had been built earlier than Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), the district round took its name from the city, extending in length from Yazd to Hazār Dirakht (Thousand Trees), and in breadth from Qūhistān to Nayrīz, and all of this land is of the dependencies of the district.

<sup>1</sup> There is a Maymand to the east of Firūzābād. But possibly the chief town of the Nāband District is intended, lying on the coast to the east of Sīrāf, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī, though no longer to be found on the map.

<sup>2</sup> These names are not now to be found on the map, but the last name in the list may be identified with the modern Gabrī, lying 17 leagues to the north-west of Gillah Dār. Iṣṭakhrī (where many variants are noted) gives them as three separate places, none of which was large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers. Mūhū he gives under the form of Hamand or Hamīd. Hamjān appears as Hajmān or Hamhān. Kabrīn or Kīrīn may be Kīzrīn or Kīzīn, the equivalent of Khāzrīn, which lay one march distant from the well-known city of Kāzrīn (and was not to be confounded therewith).

<sup>3</sup> Huzū is probably the modern Chīrū, in the Shīb Kūh sub-district of Lārīstān, lying 10 leagues west of Chāruk. In Iṣṭakhrī the name occurs variously as Sīrū, Sūrū, or Shāhrū. Sāviyah may be a clerical error for which we should read Tāvūnah, the name of a village lying one league to the westward of Chāruk.

Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis). Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $83^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $20^{\circ}$ . According to one account it was founded by king Gayūmarth, according to another by his son, who was himself named Iṣṭakhr. Hūshang added much to its buildings, and Jamshīd completed these additions, which finally covered all the lands from the borders of Ḥafrak to the limits of Rāmjird, namely fourteen leagues in the length by ten in the breadth. Jamshīd here established what is beyond all description in matter of palaces, and orchards, and villages. Also there were erected three castles, on the summits of three hills, one being called Iṣṭakhr, the second Shikastah, and the third Shankavān<sup>1</sup>: the whole being known as Sih Gunbadān (the Three Domes). The author of the *Fārs Nāmah* states that Jamshīd built his palace at the base of the mountain, and this may be described as standing on a platform, at the hill foot, constructed of squared black stone, being itself a quadrilateral. One side of it is on the mountain, and the other three sides open to the plain. The platform is 30 ells in height, and you go up on two sides by stairways. On the platform stand round columns of white stone, so finely cut, that the like even in soft wood could not now possibly be done. At the threshold are two square pillars, [۱۰۱] each being of over one hundred thousand *manu*-weight; and in the neighbourhood there is no stone to be found similar to this. Now powder scraped from these stones and laid on wounds will staunch the flow of blood. On each of these pillars is sculptured the figure of Burāq (the winged-steed that bore to heaven in his Night Journey the Prophet Muḥammad). Its face is the face of a man with a curly beard, and a crown on his head; the forelegs, and hind legs and the tail, being those of a bull. The portrait of Jamshīd himself, finely adorned, is also here.

In the mountain near by a bath tank has been hollowed out of the rock, the hot water rising from a natural spring, so that there is no need of fire to heat it. On the summit of this mountain were great Dakhmahs (Towers of Silence, where the Fire worshippers exposed their dead), which the common people now call Prisons of the Wind. At the time of the Moslem conquest, after the people of Iṣṭakhr had more than once broken faith and acted as meditating treachery, the Arabs here made a great slaughter, and laid most of the place in ruin. Then in the days of Ṣamsām-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, the Amīr Qutulmish bringing an army against Iṣṭakhr, laid it completely in ruin, and so it remained, becoming afterwards merely a moderate sized village. In among the ruins of the palaces of Jamshīd they find Indian tutty, which is used for the eyes, but no one knows where this tutty came from, and how it got here. At the present time people call these

<sup>1</sup> Often spelt Shakanvān.

buildings with their columns The Forty Minarets. In the *Majma' Arbāb-al-Maslak* it is stated that these columns and buildings were the palace of Queen Humāy, daughter of king Bahman; in the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm*, on the other hand, they are said to have been a Mosque built by Solomon: and it is possible that king Solomon did indeed convert the palace of Jamshīd into a Mosque, and that Humāy in her turn changed it again to a palace, and thus all three traditions may be true. Now the plain of Iṣṭakhr was of old very broad and long, hence many of the places that now are counted as of Marvdasht are in that plain. Its crops are corn and excellent grapes, and of its other fruit the sweet apple is most renowned.

**Abraj<sup>1</sup>.** A large village, lying at the foot of a mountain. And this mountain is their comfort, for all the houses are dug out of it, and from it also they get their water, which flows down from the same.

**Abarqūh.** Of the Third Clime. It originally stood at the foot of a mountain, and hence was called Barkūh—'on the mountain'—but afterwards it was built on the plain where it now lies. It is a small town [۱۰۵] with a temperate climate, having its water-supply both from streams and from underground channels. Corn and cotton grow well here. The inhabitants are, for the most part, craftsmen, much given to piety and religion. Of the celebrated tombs here is that of Tāūs-al-Ḥaramayn (Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries—Mecca and Medina), and this shrine has the peculiarity that, if ever it be roofed over, the roof immediately falls to ruin<sup>2</sup>, so much so that even an awning of palm-matting set there is not suffered to stand. Further it is said that in Abarqūh if any Jew remains but for forty days he dies; hence there are no Jews here: and should any come hither on some important business, in less than forty days he must go hence. There are many places of the dependencies of Abarqūh, among the rest Dih Marāghah (or Farāghah), where there is a cypress-tree, most famous throughout the world, even as from the days of the Kayānian kings the cypress-trees of Kashmar and of Balkh were famous. And at this present time the cypress here is taller and greater of girth than those others, and in all the Land of Īrān there is none now its equal. The revenues of Abarqūh, with its districts, amount to 140,400 dinārs.

**Isfidān and Quhistān<sup>3</sup>.** Isfidān is a small city with a castle;

<sup>1</sup> Abraj is now the name of the district of which the chief town is Dashtak.

<sup>2</sup> This was lest the tomb of the saint should become the object of an idolatrous worship, and as a proof of his great humility. The same phenomenon is described by Ibn Baṭūṭah (II. 113) as a characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Ḥanbal at Baghdād; and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this subject in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (I. 257).

<sup>3</sup> Modern Isfadrān: the village of Quhistān (already mentioned, p. 118) no longer exists.

and Quhistān is a large village, both being of the cold region. In the hills near here is a huge cave, which serves the people as a sure place of refuge in times of terror.

**Iqlīd, Sarmaq and Arjamān<sup>1</sup>.** Iqlīd is a small town with a castle. The climate is temperate, and it has running streams. All kinds of fruit grow here, also desert wheat. Sarmaq too is a small town, in all matters like Iqlīd; further the yellow plum of Sarmaq is of especial excellence and sweetness, wherefore it is dried, and then exported to other districts; for of these there are many that are dependent on Iqlīd, Sarmaq and Arjamān.

**Bavvān and Marvast<sup>2</sup>.** Bavvān is a small town, growing desert corn and fruits, with a temperate climate. It has running streams. Marvast is a large village with like productions.

**Baydā<sup>3</sup> (the White City).** A small town, with white soil, for which peculiarity it has received its name. It was founded by king Gushtāsf. It has a temperate climate, and running streams, [۱۴] its lands grow desert corn and fruit. Many places are of its dependencies; and there is near here a meadow-land ten leagues broad and long. In Baydā many profoundly learned men have arisen, as for instance Nāṣir-ad-Dīn al Baydawī the Judge, author of the celebrated Judge's Commentary (on the Qurān), and there are other celebrated men also who were born here.

**Khabraz, Ābādah and Sarvāt<sup>4</sup>.** Khabraz is a small town, with a temperate climate and running streams, where much corn and fruit are grown. Ābādah likewise is a small town, with a strong castle. It has a temperate climate, and its water is from the overflow of the river Kur. Corn and grapes are grown here, and many villages are of its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 25,500 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> Now written Sūmaq and Argunān.

<sup>2</sup> Bavvān (not to be confused with the valley of Bavvān, mentioned on p. 128) was the chief town of the district still known as the Bavvānāt. Of this the capital now is Sūriyān, but Bavvān town is more probably to be identified with modern Muzayjān, which in the Arab geographers is spelt Murayzījan. The town of Marvast must not be confounded with the Marvdasht district, as is too often the case in the MSS. The town exists; and it is probably the place mentioned by Iṣṭakhri, where for *Marus* in the text we should read the variant *Marūst* or *Marvast* given in the note. Neither Marvdasht district nor Marvast town is mentioned by any of the other Arab geographers.

<sup>3</sup> By the Persians pronounced Bayzā, and now known as the Hill of Bayzā (Tall-Baydā).

<sup>4</sup> There is some confusion about two of these places and the next two mentioned. Khabraz appears to be modern Khabriz, lying 3 leagues south-west of Arsinjān. No village of Sarvāt now exists, and the name is given by Iṣṭakhri as Sarvāb. In the MSS. it is often written so that it might be read *Purvāb*, the name of the river. Sarvāt however is given below as near Kamah, modern Kamīn, hence it probably stood to the southward of modern Kalīlak. The district round this, along the eastern bank of the *Purvāb* river, was apparently the meadow-land of Qālī, a name that has disappeared from the map. This also is the case with Khabrak, but Khuvār near which it stood exists, as Qal'ah Khār (1 league to the south-east of Arsinjān); and Khabrak, given later under the form Khafrak, must have been one of the chief villages of the Khafrak Districts, Upper and Lower, of which is (this southern) Ābādah.

**Khābrak and Qālī.** These are two villages, and in the meadow-lands of Qālī some fruit is grown, with much corn.

**Khurramah<sup>1</sup>.** A pleasant town, with a strong castle. Its climate is temperate; it has running streams, and both corn and fruit are grown here.

**Rāmjird.** A district lying on the (upper) course of the river Kur. A dam has here been thrown across the river, to provide irrigation for the villages; but when this dam fell to ruin, the whole wealth of the district was brought to naught. Then the Atabeg Chāulī<sup>2</sup> restored the dam, causing the district again to flourish. The market town of Māyīn is the capital of this district, and its revenues amount to 52,500 dīnārs.

**Šāhik<sup>3</sup> and Harāt.<sup>4</sup>** Both small towns; and the climate is temperate. At Šāhik is a mine for steel; the crops are corn and fruits.

**Quṭruh<sup>4</sup>.** A small town, with a temperate climate, and running streams. Corn and fruit are found here, and there is an iron mine.

**Qumishah.** In former times this was counted as of the province of (Persian) ‘Irāq, and it lies on the boundary of Fārs and ‘Irāq. The castle of Qūlanjān, built of clay bricks, stands near, and many other places are dependencies of Qumishah. Its climate [١٢٤] resembles that of Iṣfahān. Its water is from underground channels; the crops are corn, fruit and grapes; its population in character and temper resemble the men of Iṣfahān; and they are ever here of two different minds.

**Kāmfirūz.** A district lying on the banks of the river Kur. There is here a great forest, where many lions of great fierceness are found.

**Kirbāl.** Both the upper and the lower districts of this name take their water from the Kur river; the upper district from (above the Dam of) the Band-i-Amīr, which ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah built; and the lower district from above the Band-i-Qaṣṣār (the Fuller’s Dam), of which the Atabeg Chāulī restored the masonry.

**Kamīn<sup>5</sup> and Fārūq.** Two towns, with many dependencies: the climate is temperate, they have running streams, and the lands grow corn and fruit abundantly. Also there is game in plenty.

**Kūrad and Kallār<sup>6</sup>.** Kūrad is a small town and Kallār a large village, one district comprising the two. The produce is desert corn, for the climate is cold.

<sup>1</sup> Now called Khirāmah.

<sup>2</sup> Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāulī was Atabeg of Fārs under the Saljūqs.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Chāhak.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Qatū.

<sup>5</sup> Modern Kalīlak, the chief town of the Kamīn district.

<sup>6</sup> Neither exists: see Itineraries in chapter xv.



**Māyīn.** A small town, in the hill country, on the road to Kūshk-i-Zard. The climate is temperate, but rather cold. It has running streams, and for crops grows both corn and fruit. The population for the most part are robbers. There is here the shrine of Shaykh Gul Andām; while at the foot of the Māyīn pass stands the tomb of Ismāīl son of the Imām Mūsā-al-Kāzīm. Māyīn (as already said) is the chief town of the Rāmjird district.

**Yazdikhwāst and Dih Girdū** (Nut Village). Two villages, surrounded by diverse hamlets, as for instance Sarvistān and Ābādah<sup>1</sup>, with others all of this same dependency. These are of the cold region, growing desert corn, but no fruit except nuts.

**Dih-i-Mūrd<sup>2</sup> and Rādān.** Two villages near Harāt. The climate here is cold, and many myrtles grow in these parts, also much corn. Of the dependencies are some other villages.

<sup>1</sup> The northern Ābādah, near modern Shūlgistān.

<sup>2</sup> Called in Arabic Qaryat-al-Ās, that is 'Myrtle Village,' as the Persian name too signifies. The earlier geographers call it Būdānjān.

## CHAPTER XII

The District of Dārābjird. Jahrum and Juvaym of Abū Ahmad: the Castle of Shamirān. Fasā with its districts. The District of Shāpūr Khūrah. Kāzīrūn: the three original villages: stuffs made here. Bishāvūr (Shāpūr): the colossal black statue. The Shāpūr Country. The Jilūyah hills. Jirrah and Gunbad Mallaghān. Khisht and Kumāij. Khullār and its mill-stones. Ghundiān or Dasht Bāin. Nawbanjān and Shi'b Bavvān, one of the four Earthly Paradises: the White Castle. Qubād Khūrah District. Arājān and the Thakān bridge. Rīshahr and its linen. Janābā and Mahrūbān. Siniz. The Sixteen Castles of Fārs. The Meadow-Lands. Qays, Baḥrayn and other Islands of the Persian Gulf

**The Dārābjird District.** This takes its name from Dārāb son of Bahman son of Isfandiyār the Kayānian; and formerly the province which is known now under the name of Shabānkārah, and which will be described later in a chapter by itself, occupied the greater part of this district, but we speak here of that part thereof which is still counted as of Fārs. [۱۰۰]

**Jahrum.** A medium-sized town, founded by Bahman ibn Isfandiyār. It has many dependencies, with a hot climate, growing crops of corn, fruit and cotton. Its water is from both running streams and underground channels. There is in these parts a very strong castle called Khūrshah.

**Juvaym of Abū Ahmad.** This is of the Irāhistān district, which (as already said) forms part of the district of Ardashīr Khūrah. The Jūmah (or home-lands) thereof are known as the Kūrah Rūd (River-district)<sup>1</sup>. The climate is hot, and the water is from underground channels and wells. The crops are corn and dates. There is here a castle called Shamirān. The people go armed, being footpads, thieves and highwaymen.

**Fasā.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude 83° 55', and latitude 20°. It was founded by Fasā son of Tahmūrath the Demon-binder; after it had fallen to ruin king Gushtāsf the Kayānian began to restore its buildings; which same his grandson Bahrām ibn Isfandiyār completed, giving it the name of Sāsān. It had at first been triangular in plan; but in the days of Ḥajjāj (the Omayyad viceroy of 'Irāq) his lieutenant governor Āzādma'd by his orders altered this plan, restoring its buildings. Afterwards it was ruined by the Shabānkārah tribes, and then again restored

<sup>1</sup> *Fārs Nāmāh* text has 'of which district (Irāhistān) it is the Jūmah (capital).' The name is now pronounced Jūyum, or Gūyum.

by the Atabeg Chāulī. It was a very large city, with numerous dependencies. Its water is from underground channels, and it has no running streams. The lands grow the fruits of both the hot and cold regions; and among its dependencies are Shaqq Rūdbār and Mīshkānāt, of the hot region, producing desert wheat. Also there are many other dependencies, to mention all of which would be too long.

**The District of Shāpūr Khūrah.** This district takes its name from Shāpūr son of Ardashīr Bābakān. Originally its chief town was Bishāvur, but at the present time it is Kāzīrūn.

**Kāzīrūn.** Of the Third Clime; in longitude  $87^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $29^{\circ} 19'$ . It consisted originally of three villages, called Nawdar, Darīst and Rāhbān, all founded by Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder. [۱۷۱] When Shāpūr son of Ardashīr Bābakān built the town of Bishāvur he made these villages a dependency thereof, but later Fīrūz great-grandson of Bahrām Gūr formed them into a city, and his son Qubād added to the buildings. Thus Kāzīrūn became a great city, but since originally it had been three villages, so at the present day it forms three distinct wards, each with its magnificent and mighty palace, and each is like a castle. The climate of Kāzīrūn is hot, and the water is from three different underground water-channels, each bearing the name of one of the three original villages. Further they rely much on rain water. Oranges, shaddocks, lemons and all the fruits of the hot regions grow here, and there is a special kind of date, known as Jīlān, the equal of which is found nowhere else in the world. Much cotton is produced here, and the muslin stuffs of Kāzīrūn are exported to all parts, being of many kinds; and some linen too is made. Most of these Kāzīrūn stuffs, unless they be washed in the waters of the Rāhbān watercourse, do not retain their freshness. The people are of the Shāfi'ī sect. There is seen here the shrine of the Shaykh Abū Ishaq Kāzīrūnī, which same has become a sanctuary. Further there are many other tombs of notable men here, the enumeration of which would be too long; and many villages are of the dependencies of Kāzīrūn.

**Bishāvur**<sup>1</sup>. Of the Third Clime; in longitude  $86^{\circ} 15'$ , and latitude  $20^{\circ}$ . It was founded by Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder and named Dīndilā. Alexander the Great, when he conquered Fars, laid it in ruins, and king Shāpūr I rebuilt it all anew, calling it Bishāpūr after his own name; but originally this was Banā-i-Shāpūr (Sapor's building), which in the lapse of time and by the coalescing of the letters became Bishāvur. The climate is hot; for to the north the city is shut in, by which cause too it is damp. Its water is from the great river which has taken its

<sup>1</sup> The ruins now known as Shāpūr: and originally named *Bih-Shāpūr* 'the Good Thing of King Sapor.'

name from the town. The crops grown here are corn, rice, dates, oranges, shaddocks, lemons, with all other kinds of good fruits of the hot region, which same sell here for a small price; so that those coming and going are perpetually eating of the same. Various sweet-smelling flowers too abound, such as water-lilies, violets, jasmine and narcissus; and silk too is produced. The people are of the Shāfi'ite sect. Some distance outside Bishāvur there is seen the statue of a man in black stone, standing in a temple, and above life size. [۱۲۷] Some say it is a talisman, others assert that this was once a living man whom God Most High turned to stone. The kings in those parts hold it in much honour and veneration, making visitations to the same, and anointing it with unguents<sup>1</sup>.

**Anbūrān and Bāsht Qūṭā**<sup>2</sup>. Anbūrān is a small town of the Nawbanjān district; and some few persons of distinction are natives thereof. Its climate is temperate, and it has running streams. Bāsht Qūṭā is a district lying in the mountains, and of the cold region. It has corn crops and some fruit.

**Bilād Shāpūr** (the Shāpūr Country)<sup>3</sup>. This includes various regions lying between Fārs and Khūzistān. Its climate is temperate, but tending to be hot. It has many running streams; but for the most part now the land is in ruin.

**Tīr Murdān and Jūyīgān**<sup>4</sup>. Two districts, with some large villages that lie on broken ground among clefts and gullies. The climate here is cold, but tends to be temperate. There are many trees, and all kinds of fruit—especially nuts—the same being most plentiful. The greater part of their crops depend on the rains, but some are artificially irrigated. There is much game found in these parts. The people here are warlike and nocturnal robbers: so much so that in a single night they will go a distance of twenty leagues.

**Jabal Jilūyah**<sup>5</sup>. These mountains comprise many hill districts, and numerous dependencies which border on Luristān. The climate is cold, water is plentiful, and trees without number. There is much fruit grown, and the hunting-grounds are excellent. The people here are Shāfi'ites and Sunnīs.

<sup>1</sup> For the colossal statue of King Shāpūr in the cave near the ruins of the town, see De Bode, *Luristān*, I. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Bāsht is now the chief town of the Bāvi sub-district in Kūh Gilūyah. This probably marks the site of Anbūrān, mentioned also by Iṣṭakhrī, but the names Anbūrān and Qūṭā are now unknown, and the Arab geographers make no mention of Bāsht Qūṭā: which many MSS. give as Fūtā.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Country of Sapor' is still found on the map. According to Muqaddasi its chief town was called Jūmah (the Township), and Hinduwān or Hindijān mentioned below was within its limits.

<sup>4</sup> Tīr Murdān exists, and Jūyīgān is modern Chawgān lying 4 leagues east of Fahliyān.

<sup>5</sup> Kūh Gilūyah is still the name for the great province, with many sub-districts, occupying all the mountain region to the north-west of Fārs.

**Jirrah**<sup>1</sup>. A small town, the name being commonly pronounced Girrah. It lies below (south of) Shīrāz, while (the Dam of) Band-i-Amīr, one of the mightiest constructions in the world, lies above (north of) Shīrāz: hence a poet has said,

*Seek not conquest from the region of Shīrāz,  
For below it lies Girrah (for Gīrih, 'a knot'), and above it  
stands Band ('a barrier').*

The climate here is warm, and the water is from the river that bears the name of this town. The crops are corn and dates. The people here are warlike, and [١٢٨] many districts are of its dependencies.

**Gunbad Mallaghān**<sup>2</sup>. A small town, in the neighbourhood of which is the bridge of Pul Būlū (or Lūlū). Its climate is hot, but there are numerous running streams. Its crops are corn and fruit, with many sweet-scented flowers. There is a strong castle here.

**Khisht and Kumārij**. Two towns lying among the hills, but of the hot region. They have running streams; but except for dates no other fruit is grown. The corn crops are in part watered by the rains, in part by irrigation. The people here carry arms, also they are thieves and robbers.

**Khullār**<sup>3</sup>. A large village, where there is a small spring. The mill-stones used in most parts of the Fārs province come from here, and the place produces nothing else but these; the curious matter being that, by reason of the lack of water here, they have themselves no mills, and to grind their corn have to go elsewhere.

**Khumāyijān and Dih 'Alī**<sup>4</sup>. Two districts having a cold climate, where nut trees grow, also pomegranates; and of their produce, too, is much honey. There are hunting-grounds, and the people are warlike, some also being muleteers.

**Sīmsakht**<sup>5</sup>. A district of the cold region, having many trees and running streams. The crops are corn and some little fruit.

**Charām and Bāzrang**<sup>6</sup>. Two districts lying between Zīr (or

<sup>1</sup> The district of Jirrah still exists, and the town of that name is probably to be identified with the modern Ishfāyiqān.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Dū Gunbadān 'Two Domes,' lying 8 leagues west of Bāshī. Of the bridge nothing is known, and this passage is not found in the *Fārs Nāmah*.

<sup>3</sup> Khullār lies 9 leagues north-west of Shīrāz and 5 leagues beyond Gūyūm (Juwaym).

<sup>4</sup> Dih 'Alī, now more generally called Dālī, lies 4½ leagues south-east of Ardakān. The name of Khumāyijān, mentioned by Iṣṭakhī as a district having no town with a mosque for the Friday prayers, has disappeared from the map.

<sup>5</sup> Spelling most uncertain, and apparently no longer to be found on the map. Variants may be read Simbakht, Salīmsat, Salīmnahast, etc.; and it is probably the place given in Iṣṭakhī as As-Saljān (with many variants).

<sup>6</sup> The modern district is called Churām, of which the chief town is Tall-Gird,

Zīz) and Sumayram of Luristān. The climate is very cold. The water is from streams coming down from mountains that in most seasons are never free from snow. The roads are difficult and dangerous, but water is abundant. Game also is in plenty, and the people there are for the most part hunters.

**Ghundijān**<sup>1</sup>. This commonly is known as Dasht Bārīn. It is a small town of the hot region, with one small spring, the water of its wells being brackish. The crops depend on the rains. The people here are for the most part shoemakers and weavers: though some few persons of eminence have indeed come from here.

**Nawbanjān and Shīb Bavvān** [۱۹۹]. Nawbanjān is commonly pronounced Nawbandagān, and it is of the Third Clime, in longitude 86° 15' and latitude 20°. It was founded by Sapor I, and was a large town; but at the time of the troubles caused by the rebellion of Abū Sa'd of Kāzīrūn<sup>2</sup> it became ruined and a place of desolation for beasts of prey. Subsequently the Atabeg Chāulī restored its buildings. The climate is warm, and all kinds of fruit grow here, also sweet-smelling flowers. The people are pious and given to religious observances. The water is from the neighbouring hills. Shīb Bavvān is one of the most famous pleasantries of the world. It is a valley lying between two hills, 3½ leagues long by 1½ leagues broad, all full of trees, bearing divers kinds of fruit. The climate is most pleasant and temperate. There are many villages, and through the valley runs a large river; further the summits of the hills on either side are hardly ever free from snow. By reason of the abundance of the trees the ground in this plain never has the sun shining on it; it abounds in gushing springs, and their water is very pure. The learned say that there are four Earthly Paradises, namely the Ghawtah of Damascus, the Valley of Sughd round Samarqand, Shīb Bavvān and the meadow-land of Shīdān; farther, of these four, two, namely Shīb Bavvān and the Shīdān meadow-land, lie within the limits of the Fārs province. Many other places and districts belong to Nawbanjān, some being of the plain, some of the hills. Qal'ah-i-Safīd (the White Castle) lies less than a league's distance from this town; and in the districts of Nawbanjān there are limitless hunting-grounds.

**The Qubād Khūrah District.** This district was named from Qubād, father of Anūshīrvān the Just; and here there are three cities.

<sup>1</sup> 'Round-Hill,' lying 10 leagues N.E. of Bihbāhān. The name of Bāzrang, frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, has disappeared from the map, as also is wanting the town of Zīr, which Muqaddasī writes Zīz. Sumayram, now called Samīram, lies 4 leagues to the south-west of Isfadrān.

<sup>2</sup> No town of Ghundijān now exists, but from its position as given in the Itinerary modern Jamīlah probably occupies its site.

<sup>3</sup> Chief of the Karzuvi tribe of the Shabānkārah Kurds. Cf. *J. R. A. S.* 1912, p. 12.

Arrajān<sup>1</sup>. The name is now commonly pronounced Arraghān; it is of the Third Clime, in longitude 86° 20' and latitude 20° 15'. It was founded by king Qubād the Sassanian, and at first was a large town with many districts and dependencies. In the time of the incursions of the Assassins—whom may God curse—the population came to be entirely ruined. The climate is very hot, and the water is from the Tāb river, which traverses the district. A bridge has been built over this river, which is named Pūl-i-Thakān. The soil here gives [۱۰.] abundant crops, and all kinds of fruit are grown; dates are plentiful and a most excellent sort of pomegranate called *Malīsī* is found here: also sweet-smelling flowers. In the neighbourhood are many castles, such as Qal'ah Tayghūr and Diz-Kilāt, and the ruin of the town is from the Assassins who used to be in garrison there. The people of Arrajān are for the most part pious folk, and occupied with their own affairs. The (village of) Bustānak lies (near), on the frontier of Fārs and Khūzistān. Of holy men, who are buried in Arrajān, is Abū-l-Ḥasan Shīrāzī, commonly called Pursah-dār (Poverty stricken).

Rīshahr. The Persians call it Rīshahr, and it is also known as Rabiyan<sup>2</sup>. It was founded by Luhrāsp the Kayanian, and Sapor I restored its buildings. It is a medium-sized town, standing on the shore of the Persian Gulf; the climate is very hot and damp. In summer the people cover themselves with acorn flour, otherwise, by reason of excessive sweating, (the skin) becomes sore<sup>3</sup>. The crops here are dates, and the Rīshahr linen (is famous). Most of the inhabitants are occupied in the sea trade; but they excel in nothing, and indeed are more stupid than most other folk. The fort of Diz-Kilāt lies one league distant from Rīshahr; and in summer most of the people go to this or to some other of these castles by reason of the better air.

Khabs<sup>4</sup>, Furzuk and Hindijān. These places lie between

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Arrajān lie near a place called Sih Gunbadān—'Three Domes'—a short distance to the north of Bihbahān.

<sup>2</sup> Many variants, reading uncertain. Rīshahr is probably to be identified with the modern Zaydūn, for this Rīshahr cannot be the small town of that name lying 1½ leagues to the south of Būshahr, though this last is stated to be 'one of the ancient cities of Fārs.' As regards Diz-Kilāt the MS. may be read Diz Kilāb or Gulāb, and there exists a Qal'ah Gulāb or Kilāb, this castle standing 6 leagues south of Bihbahān and 4 east of Zaydūn.

<sup>3</sup> One MS. has: 'The people wear linen here, for otherwise they would get sores from the excessive heat.' The MS. of the *Fārs Nāmāh*, however, reads: 'The climate here is extremely hot, so that the men have, in summer time, to wrap the inner rind of the acorn on parts of the skin in certain places, otherwise it would chafe into sores by the excess of sweat and the heat engendered there. Further, they have the habit of putting on many shirts, and they wear them very long.'

<sup>4</sup> Common variants are Jins, also Jis in place of Habs or Khabs. Neither this place nor Furzuk occurs on the map, but they appear in the Itinerary. Hindijān, which Muqaddasī writes Hinduwān, is now known as Bandar Hindiyān. See above under Bilād Shāpūr, p. 126.

Arrajān and the neighbouring districts of Fārs, and Khabs is a custom-house. In climate all these places resemble Arrajān.

**Janābā<sup>1</sup>.** Founded by Janābā son of Tahmūrath the Demon-binder. The Persians call it Ganbah, which means 'stinking-water,' and of a place that has a name like this there is no need for further description. Four villages are of its dependencies, and it is a town standing on the sea-shore.

**Jallādjān, Nīv and Dayr<sup>2</sup>.** These are districts [۱۳۱] of Arrajān, and in climate and produce entirely resemble the same, so that there is no need of repetition. A number of places are of their dependencies.

**Mahrūbān.** The Persians call it Māhīrūyān, and it is a city standing on the sea-shore, so that the waves of the sea beat against it. There are some few places of its dependencies. The climate is hot and damp. It is a port of call for all who go by sea from Fārs to Khūzistān, and those who travel from Baṣrah to Khūzistān also touch here. No fruit is grown, except dates, and for the most part their victualling is from the sea. Sheep here are few, but goats are numerous, and the author of the *Fārs Nāmah* states that they get from a single she-goat eighty Raṭls (pints) of milk<sup>3</sup>. Linseed here is most abundant, being much exported to other places.

**Sīnīz<sup>4</sup>.** A small town on the sea-shore, with a little fort. There are many palm-trees, for the climate is hot and damp. Linen is produced, also oil for lamps; but the linen here has no wear in it. The people are quiet folk, but stupid.

In the Five Districts aforementioned there are various Castles and Meadow-lands, the most notable of which we now proceed to describe.

Of Castles there are at the present day but sixteen well-known and famous castles in the kingdom of Fārs, though of old there were above seventy. For when the people of Fārs revolted against the commands of the Saljūqs, they sent the Atabeg Chāulī to conquer the land, and he by force of arms laid most of those castles in ruins, while some few that had submitted he left standing, but setting a garrison therein. Of all these castles, therefore, the following are those best known:

**Isfīd Diz (the White Castle<sup>5</sup>).** In the *Fārs Nāmah* it is stated that this fortress was garrisoned and peopled from most

<sup>1</sup> The ruins, called Gunāvah, lie somewhat to the north of Bandar Rīg.

<sup>2</sup> Variants, reading uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> But see *Fārs Nāmah* where the text reads: 'They breed sheep, however, in great numbers, and likewise goats; also they raise calves which are for size like those they breed in Baṣrah, for it is reported that some attain as much as 80 to 100 Raṭl in weight, or even more.' The Baghdād Raṭl was under  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb, avoirdupois: hence the calf weighed 4 to 5 stone.

<sup>4</sup> Sīnīz has disappeared; its site was probably near Bandar Daylam, the chief town of the Qirāvi district.

<sup>5</sup> Otherwise Qal'ah-i-Safid.



ancient times, but by reason of its very antiquity the name of its builder is unknown. Then for many years it remained a ruin, till in the early Saljūq days Abū Naṣr of Tīr Murdān [۱۰۴۰] restored its fortifications. This fortress occupies a hill summit, the circuit of which is twenty leagues, and it stands isolated from any other range. Only one road leads up to it, and on the mountain-top is a plain of fine soil, with excellent springs of water, and fruit gardens, with some little arable land. The wells go very deep in the ground, and give excellent water. The climate is equable and fine. At the foot of the great fortress there is a small castle called Nishnāk, which is well fortified. In the neighbourhood of this mountain there are spacious plains, and good hunting-grounds. The only weakness of this fortress is that (from its size) it can only be held by a great army of men, and that when any king with a well-appointed army attacks it, forthwith it must succumb to him<sup>1</sup>.

**Iṣṭakhr Castle.** According to the *Fārs Nāmāh* there is no castle throughout the land older than this, and every device which a castle can have to strengthen it, this castle possesses. Anciently it was known as Sih Gunbadān (Three Domes), for round and about it stand other two castles, called Shikastah and Shankavān<sup>2</sup>. At this the main castle there is a cleft going deep into the ground, through which the rain water passed, falling out at the further end into the plain. ʿAḍud-ad-Dawlah built a dam at this lower end, and with cement and stones and mortar turned the cleft here into a tank, to which a stairway led down, of seventeen steps. By means of canvas soaked in bitumen and wax, he rendered the cement so impervious that no water could percolate through, and so great a quantity of water used to be collected here, that had a thousand men used of the same for a whole year, its level would not have dropped one single step. The tank further was set with columns, and roofed over, so that the water was undisturbed by changes of the weather; and besides this there were other cisterns lying beyond and about. The climate of this castle is temperate, and the only weakness of the place is that its fortifications are not quite strong enough to resist an attack.

**Iṣṭakhr Yār Castle** (the Companion of Iṣṭakhr)<sup>3</sup>. This is strongly fortified, and it is thus called because, in its strength, it

<sup>1</sup> The text is here corrupt (also the same in the *Fārs Nāmāh* MS.) and the translation tentative.

<sup>2</sup> Also written Shakanvān and Ashkanvān. Of the 'Three Domes' the Iṣṭakhr Castle lies 2 leagues to the north of the village of Fathābād; Qal'ah Shikastah (the Broken Castle) is now known as Miyān (Qal'ah (the Midmost Castle), and lies 2½ leagues to the north-west of Fathābād; while the castle of Ashkanvān stands one league south-east of Dashtak, the older Abraj. In the *Fārs Nāmāh* it is stated that king Jamshīd kept his treasury in the castle of Iṣṭakhr, in Shikastah was his store-house, while in the castle of Shakanvān he had established his armoury.

<sup>3</sup> Probably situated on the hill above Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis).

is the companion of Iṣṭakhr. Its climate is good, and it possesses likewise a cistern, also there are in its circuit springs of living water. [۱۳۳]

**Ābādah Castle<sup>1</sup>.** This is less strong than some other castles, and less spacious. Its climate is temperate, and it has water-cisterns; also a place of arms.

**Diz<sup>2</sup> Abraj.** This castle stands on a hill above Abraj. On the one side it is well fortified, but on the other side not; thus on this side Abraj may be taken by assault. There is running water from the hill, which flows through the castle.

**Tabr Castle<sup>3</sup>.** This lies three leagues from Shīrāz to the south-east, and stands on a hill that is unconnected with any neighbouring range. There is a small spring here up above, and also under the hill another source. All round this hill for a day's journey there are neither inhabitants, nor fodder for beasts, and hence it is hardly possible to lay siege to the castle. At this present time it is in the hands of the Amīr Jalāl-ad-Dīn Ṭīb Shāh, who is a Turkoman. Its climate is rather hot.

**Tīr-i-Khudā** (the Castle of God's Arrow). This stands near Khabr<sup>4</sup> on an extremely high mountain, for which reason it has this name. Its climate is cold, but inclines to be temperate, and it has water cisterns.

**Khurshah Castle<sup>5</sup>.** This stands on a high mountain-top, five leagues from Jahrum. It has a temperate climate, inclined to be hot. Khurshah is the name (of the man) who was made governor of this province by the brother of the (celebrated Omayyad viceroy) Ḥajjāj, and who built it. Relying on the strength of this fortress, and on the wealth that by his good fortune he had acquired, he rebelled. Wherefore, subsequently, it was never allowed that any (provincial) governor should be master of this castle, lest the pride of possession, cozening the presumption due to these strong fortifications, should be more than a man's brain could stand, and thus he be led into rebellion.

**Khurramah Castle.** This is a strong place in the midst of cultivated lands. It has a temperate climate, and its water is from cisterns.

**Khwādān Castle<sup>6</sup>.** A strong fortress in the neighbourhood of Fasā. Its climate is temperate, but rather hot, and it has water cisterns.

<sup>1</sup> Near Southern Ābādah, to the north of Lake Bakhtigān.

<sup>2</sup> *Diz* is Persian for 'Castle.'

<sup>3</sup> Variants are Tīr, Bīr, Bābr and Tasīr, etc. Not given in the *Fārs Nāmah*.

<sup>4</sup> Many MSS. give Khayrah and so apparently the MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah*; but see above, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Or Khūrshah.

<sup>6</sup> Muqaddasī spells it Khwādhān, but it is probably identical in position with the village, or stage, of Khwābdān, mentioned below in the Itineraries and standing on the river Khwābdān. In that case, probably, it is the present Nūrābād, lying 1½ leagues to the south of Fahliyān.

**Khuvār Castle**<sup>1</sup>. A well-fortified castle, with a cold climate, and water from wells. [۱۳۴]

**Ramzavān Castle**. Near Ghundījān, and a very strong place. The climate is hot; it has water in cisterns.

**Sahārah Castle**<sup>2</sup>. This stands on a high mountain four leagues from Firūzābād. It was built by the Mas'ūdī (Kurds). It has a pleasant climate, and cold water. Much corn can be stored here, and it cannot be taken by assault.

**Shamīrān Castle**<sup>3</sup>. A strong place near Juvaym of Abū Aḥmad. Its climate is hot; but there are water cisterns.

**Kārzīn Castle**. This is less strong than many other castles. It is of the hot region, and stands on the banks of the Thakān river, from the bed of which a syphon has been laid up to the castle hill.

**Gunbad Mallaghān Castle**. In the Arrajān district; and so strongly fortified that one man could hold it. Its climate is temperate, and it has water cisterns. Corn may be kept here for many years free from blight.

Now besides the above-mentioned castles, in the district of Irāhistān every village is like a fortress, and each is in itself a strong castle, some standing on rocky hills, and some on hillocks of earth, and some in the plain; and all these are of the hot region.

**Meadow-Lands**. In the province of Fārs there are many meadow-lands, and those that are most extensive, and most famous, we shall now describe.

**The Āvard or Ūrd Meadows**. Now known as Kūshk-i-Zard. These are excellent pasture-lands, broad and long, with many springs. The climate is cold, and the grass here is very fattening. There are many large villages, as for instance Dih Bajjah, Ṭamīrkhān<sup>4</sup> and others. These meadow-lands are ten leagues in length by five in breadth.

**The Meadows of Dasht Rūn**. Excellent pastures, with running streams and abundant springs. The climate is cold. These meadows are somewhat less in extent than those of Āvard. The Rubāṭ (or Guard house) of Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn, and the Shahriyār Bridge, lie in these meadows. The grass is most fattening to cattle. The meadows measure seven leagues by five in extent. [۱۳۵]

**The Meadows of Dasht Arzhan**. These lie round a lake which is situated in the Plain of the Wild Almond (Dasht-i-Arzhan). In its neighbourhood is a forest, where there are fierce

<sup>1</sup> Now known as Qal'ah Khār lying one league S.E. of Arsinjān. For the next see above, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as Qal'ah Sārah.

<sup>3</sup> Now known as Qal'ah 'Uthmānlū, standing 2 leagues south of Jūyum.

<sup>4</sup> Or Ṭaharjān with many variants: given by Yāqūt as Timāristān.

lions. The story of the Caliph 'Alī and Salmān-i-Fārsī in the Dasht-i-Arzhan Plain is well known<sup>1</sup>, and it relates to this very place. These meadows are two leagues long by one across.

**The Sīkān Meadows**<sup>2</sup>. These are between Shīrāz and Kavār. In their midst there is standing water, and a forest lies near by, where there are lions. The length of these meadow-lands is five leagues and their breadth three.

**The Bahman Meadows**. These are near Juvaym of Abū Aḥmad, and they are one league across either way.

**The Bīd and Mashkān Meadows**<sup>3</sup>. These are in the neighbourhood of Basīrā, but of the cold region. They are seven leagues in length by three in breadth, and there is here excellent pasture.

**The Meadows of Bayḍā**. Lying three leagues from Bayḍā; the pasture here is abundant and very rich. These meadows are ten leagues in length and breadth, with many good springs.

**The Shīdān Meadows**<sup>4</sup>. The excellent pasture here is hardly to be equalled elsewhere. All round lie cultivated lands, with numerous springs and running streams. In seasons of flood there is a lake in the centre part, but this dries up in the hot weather. These meadows are ten leagues long, by the like across, and the grass is very rich. Now in regard to this meadow-land, and the Ghawṭah of Damascus, and Sughd of Samarqand, and Shī'b Bavvān, the learned have, as already stated, (named these the Four Earthly Paradises).

**The Qālī Meadow**. This lies on the (Purvāb, or) Pulvār river, and is a pleasant place; but in summer its grass does not suit cattle, and on the other hand in winter there is lack of pasturage. It is three leagues in length by one in breadth.

**The Kālān Meadow**. This lies in the neighbourhood of the Tomb of Solomon's Mother<sup>5</sup>. It is four leagues in length, but much less in breadth. The Tomb aforesaid is a square built house of stone, and in the *Fārs Nāmah* [۱۳۶] it is said that no one dare look inside this, for fear lest he should become blind, but we have never seen anyone who had made the experiment.

**The Kāmfirūz Meadow**. This is a very green meadow on the banks of the river Kur. There is here a forest, which is a lair for lions. The pasturage is excellent, but through fear of the lions cattle are seldom sent here.

<sup>1</sup> What the legend is, it has been impossible to verify.

<sup>2</sup> There are many variants for this and the following names of meadow-lands.

<sup>3</sup> Probably near Dih Bīd. The village of Mashkān or Mashkūn, of the Qunquī District, lies on the Pulvār river, 10 leagues north of Pasargadae, and Rubāī Mashk, in the Itinerary, occupies the position of Dih Bīd. The Arab geographers give Mashkān as the chief town of the Jawbaīqān District, which lay at the head-waters of the Farvāb or Pulvār river. According to the *Fārs Nāmah* Basīrā or Lasīrā lay near Kamah and Fārūq.

<sup>4</sup> Situation unknown.

<sup>5</sup> At Pasargadae. The tomb of Cyrus.

**The Kamīn, Purvāb and Khāstijān Meadows.** These are not known as true meadow-lands, but the grass here is very fattening for cattle, and better than in the surrounding places.

**The Narcissus Meadows.** Near Kāzīrūn and Jirrah, and of the neighbourhood of Khān Azādmard. These are three leagues long and two broad, and the grass here is all full of self-sown narcissus, so that all the plain is covered with the flowers. It is most famous, and such is the sweet smell of the narcissus in these meadows, that while it goes to the head, the heart is rejoiced thereby.

Now besides these Meadow-lands, above-mentioned, there are many others, of smaller extent in various parts, but to mention them all would be too long.

**The Persian Gulf.** The islands which are found in the Persian Gulf, lying between the frontier of Sind and ‘Omān, are counted as of the province of Fārs, and the largest of these in matter both of population and of wealth are the islands of Qays (or Qaysh) and Baḥrayn. In former times the rulers of Qays counted the greater part of the land of Īrān, and for certain all the province of Fārs, as forming part of the dependencies of Qays, which island they named Dawlat Khānah (the Emporium). At the present day its revenues still amount to 491,300 dinārs on the Registers, and all the neighbouring islands, which will shortly be mentioned, are of its dependencies.

**Qays (or Qaysh).** Of the Second Clime, in longitude  $83^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $25^{\circ} 15'$ . It is an island lying four leagues from the mainland, off Huzū, being itself four leagues long and the like broad. The city of Qays occupies its centre, and on the island are arable lands and palm groves. Pearl diving takes place here. The climate is extremely warm. Its water is from the rains, which same they store in cisterns. In the *Fārs Nāmah* Qays is counted as part of the district of Ardashīr Khūrah.

**Baḥrayn.** Of the Second Clime, in [ $\text{۱۳۷}$ ] longitude  $83^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ} 15'$ . This is an island lying between Two Seas (Baḥrayn), hence its name. It is ten leagues in length, by five in breadth, and there are running streams with many gardens and villages here. The city (on the Arabian mainland) is called Hījr, which was founded by Ardashīr Bābakān. In former days Baḥrayn, together with Laḥsā, Qatīf, Khaṭṭ, Azar, Alārah, Farūq, Baynūnah, Sābūn, Dārīn and Ghābah were all counted as of the Arab kingdom. At the present day, however, the Island of Baḥrayn forms a part of Fārs, being of the kingdom of Īrān, though in the present work, in the map of Īrān as described on a previous page, it is not delineated, being too far afield. The peninsula of Qatīf, and Laḥsā, with the other neighbouring places, however, at most times pay no allegiance to the Baḥrayn rulers. Baḥrayn, in the way of fruits, produces dates, and these are very plentiful,

being exported to many neighbouring lands; indeed, in days of old the Arabs had a proverb which said: *He gave gifts as one who traffics in dates to Hijr, or as one who carries brocades going to Yaman.* The climate of Bahrayn is extremely hot; its water is from both springs and underground channels. The people here are, for the most part, Moslems of good religion and orthodox belief: but many are mere pirates, and excel in naught but in sailing out to sea, seizing the ships of merchants, and carrying off their goods. Ibn Khurdādbih states that whosoever makes any stay in Bahrayn gets an enlarged spleen: as the poet has said alluding to this in the verse:

*He who lives in Al-Bahrayn his spleen enlarges,  
Hence he is envied for what is in his belly: though in fact  
he goeth hungry.*

**Abzūn<sup>1</sup>.** An island one league square. There are here arable fields and date-groves, and according to the *Fārs Nāmāh* it is to be counted as of the Ardashīr Khūrah district.

**Abrūkāmānān<sup>2</sup>.** An island eight leagues long by three across. Most of its population are wicked folk and robbers.

**Khārik.** An island one league square, having arable fields and palm-groves: [۱۳۸] also much fruit and excellent corn grows here. The pearl fishery in Khārik is better and more abundant than in any other island, and many fine pearls come from here. This island lies about a league from the coast, and it is counted as of the Qubād Khūrah district.

<sup>1</sup> Or Abrūn.

<sup>2</sup> Reading uncertain, many variants.

## CHAPTER XIII

The Shabānkārah Province. The Castle of Īg. Zarkān. Iṣṭahbānān and Burk. Dārābgird: the hill of seven coloured salt. Rūniz and Lār. The Province of Kirmān: legend of Haftawād and the Worm. Guvāshīr: the Shīrjānī Garden. Bam and Jīruft. Khabīṣ. Sīrjān and other towns. The Makrān Province. Hurmūz, old and new. The Great Desert: its limits. Jarmaq and Kuhbinān. The Sistān Province: Zarang. The Quhistān Province. Turshīz: the Cypress of Kashmar: the castles of the Assassins. Tūn and Junābad: the underground water channels. Bīrjand: the Poet Nīzārī. Shākhīn. Tabas Masīnān: poisonous clay. Qāyin: Dilchaq, the Jester of Sultān Mahmūd. Mūminābād: a castle of the Assassins. Zābul and Fīrūzkūh. Ghaznayn. Maymand, birthplace of Ḥasan Maymandī. Qamīn and the Ṣaffarids

### SECTION 13. Describing the province of Shabānkārah.

Here there are six districts, of the hot region, standing in the Third Clime, and the frontiers are contiguous with Fārs, Kirmān and the Persian Gulf. The revenues in Saljūq times were above two million dīnārs of the actual currency, but at the present time they amount only to 266,100 dīnārs. The capital city is the Castle of Īg (or Avīg) with the township of Zarkān, the one lying beside the other.

**Īg and Zarkān.** Īg in former times was but a village, which Ḥasūyah, in the days of the Saljūqs<sup>1</sup>, raised to be a city. It stands on a hill-top, and has great fortifications. A running stream goes through it, which in time of siege, should the enemy but come to know the source thereof, and turn the current from the castle, he would soon bring the garrison to terms. Zarkān is the township at the foot of the castle; its climate is temperate, but the water is indigestible. Corn, cotton, fruits and dates, however, grow here most excellently.

**Iṣṭahbānān (or Iṣṭahbānāt).** A town with many trees, having a temperate climate. All kinds of fruit grow here, and there is much running water. There is a strong castle near here, which, during the wars between the Saljūqs and the Shabānkārahs, the Atabeg Chāulī laid in ruins, but afterwards it was restored.

**Burk and Tārum.** Two towns, of which Burk is the larger; and it has a strong castle, standing on the frontier of Kirmān. The crops are abundant, consisting of corn and dates.

<sup>1</sup> Chief of the Isma'īlī, a clan of the Shabānkārah Kurds: see *Fārs Nāmah*, p. 11. The castle of Īg still exists: and Zarkān, or Darakān, might be modern Darākūh, lying 10 leagues east of Fasā.

**Khayrah<sup>1</sup> and Nayrīz.** Two towns, which likewise have a castle. Raisins are abundant here, and the climate is rather hot. Mishkānāt is a well-cultivated district near by, being a dependency of Nayrīz, which [۱۳۹] it resembles in climate and products.

**Dārābgird<sup>2</sup>.** Of the Third Clime, and founded by Dārāb (King Darius). It is circular in plan, and very well laid out, with a strong fortress standing in the middle of the town, surrounded by a deep ditch. At the present day this castle is in ruins. The climate is hot; corn, fruit and dates grow well here. In the neighbourhood is a hill where salt of seven colours is found; and the districts of Hashū, Dārkan, Mişş and Rustāq are of its dependencies, with many fine villages. In the neighbourhood is a pass, very strongly fortified, called Tang-i-Ranbah<sup>3</sup>, where there is a mighty castle. The climate is good; water is to be had from springs, and in cisterns. In ancient times wheresoever the governor of Dārābgird resided, he kept in his own possession this castle. But not very recently a certain Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā<sup>4</sup> became master of it: the people of Kirmān, however, overcame him, and took the castle out of his hands. In the neighbourhood is a meadow-land three leagues in length, by one in breadth.

**Kurm and Rūnīz<sup>5</sup>.** Two small towns on the road to Fasā. Their climate is temperate, but rather hot, and there is abundant running water.

**Lār.** A district lying near the sea coast. Most of its people are merchants, occupied in sea and land commerce. Its crops are corn, cotton, and some small quantity of dates; for their whole dependence for water is on the rains. The people are Moslems.

**SECTION 14.** Concerning the province of Kirmān, with Makrān and Hurmūz.

There are here eleven towns, and in the times of the Saljūqs the revenues amounted to 880,000 dīnārş; but at this present time the amount is only 676,500 dīnārş.

Kirmān takes its name from *Kirm*, 'the Worm,' which belonged to Haftawād, and the story of the same is well known<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Khayrah, a stage in the Itineraries, must have been the chief hamlet of the Khīr district, which lies on the south of Lake Bakhtigān to the north of Iṣṭahbānāt. Nayrīz, now pronounced Nīrīz, is a town and district to the east of the lake. Mishkān is a village lying 8 leagues north of Nīrīz.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Dārāb.

<sup>3</sup> Lying 4 leagues to the east of Dārābgird.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Fūrs Nāmah*, p. 11. Chief of the Kurds. Some MSS. give the name as Mamārān.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the village of Kurm, which lies 3 leagues to the north of Fasā; but there is also Qaşr Kurm, half a league to the south-east of Fasā, which is known likewise as Kūshk-i-Qāḍī, 'the Judge's Kiosk,' at the present day. Rūnīz is the name of two villages, Upper and Lower, lying 5 and 6 leagues to the north of Fasā. There is, further, the town of Rūnīz mentioned by the older Arab geographers, a name which may be read Rūbanj (by a shifting of the diacritical points), and which lay half-way between Dārābgird and Juvaym, being of the Khasū (Hashū) district.

<sup>6</sup> For the curious legend of Haftawād and the Worm, see *Shāhnāmah*, III. 1381; and the explanations given by E. G. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, I. 145 to 150; cf. also Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 121.



It comprises fifteen towns, and for the most part the climate is temperate, and the frontiers of the same are Makrān with the desert that stretches beyond, and Shabānkārah with Persian 'Irāq, and the Great Desert which lies between Kirmān and Quhistān. The capital of the province is Guvāshīr.

**Guvāshīr.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $92^{\circ} 32'$ , and latitude  $29^{\circ} 55'$ . [۱۴۰.] In the *History of Kirmān*<sup>1</sup> it is stated that king Gushtāsf built here a fire-temple, and later Ardashīr Bābakān founded the castle above the city, which he named Bardashīr; the sign of the Balance being then in the ascendant. King Bah-rām afterwards added to the buildings of the place. In the History named above, *Simt-al-'Ulā*, it is related how Ḥajjāj (the Om-mayyad viceroy of 'Irāq) despatched Ghaḍbān ibn al Qaba'tharā to conquer this province, but he wrote back to Ḥajjāj, 'The water here is scant, the dates are poor in kind, the chiefs are robbers; if the army be few in numbers it will be annihilated, if numerous it will starve,' so Ḥajjāj recalled the troops, and it was only under 'Omar II that Ṣafwān effected its conquest; when, by order of that Caliph, they founded what is known here as the Old Mosque. Subsequently the Amīr 'Alī Ilyās laid out the garden called Bāgh-i-Shirjānī, which is still flourishing at the present day. He also built the Castle of the Hill; and the Tabrizī Mosque here was erected under Tūrān Shāh the Saljūq. Among the tombs of famous saints in Guvāshīr is that of Shāh Shujā' Kirmānī.

**Bam.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $92^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ} 20'$ . It is said that in this city the Worm of Haftawād (before mentioned) burst, for which reason the place took the name of Bam (meaning 'burst'). There is here a strongly fortified castle. The climate of Bam is better than that of Jīruft, but is inclined to be hot.

**Jīruft.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $98^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $27^{\circ} 50'$ . In the *History of Kirmān* it is stated that at the time when 'Abd-Allah, son of the Caliph 'Omar II, was conquering the Kirmān province, the site of Jīruft was a forest abounding in fierce lions, but the soldiers of Islam slew them all, building here villages, each of which became known by the name of its founder. The climate here is hot. The water is from the river Dīv Rūd; palm groves are numerous, and dates are cheap.

**Khabīṣ.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $93^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $31^{\circ}$ . The climate is hot, but water is to be had from the river. Dates are abundant here.

**Rīghān.** According to the *History of Kirmān* this place was founded by Bahman ibn Isfandiyār. The climate is hot, and the crops are corn and dates.

**Sīrjān.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $90^{\circ} 20'$  [۱۴۱], and

<sup>1</sup> The *Simt-al-'Ulā*, by Nāṣir-ad-Dīn.

latitude  $29^{\circ} 30'$ . The climate is hot; there is a strong castle here; and the crops are corn, cotton and dates.

**Shahr-i-Bābak.** This was built by Bābak, who was maternal grandfather of king Ardashīr Bābakān. It is of the Third Clime, and its crops are corn, cotton and dates.

**Narmāshīr.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $94^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $29^{\circ}$ . According to the *History of Kirmān* it was built by Ardashīr Bābakān.

**Makrān.** A broad province lying beyond the bounds of Īrān, the description of which therefore will be given later. It is however proper just to mention it here, for its taxes belong to Īrān, since they are paid into the Kirmān Treasury.

**Hurmūz.** Of the Second Clime, in longitude  $92^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ , and, standing on the coast of the Persian Gulf, it has a very hot climate. The town was founded by king Ardashīr. At this present day Quṭb-ad-Dīn, the king of Hurmūz, in fear of the brigands, has abandoned the older site, and removed the city to the Island of Jirūn, lying one league from the coast out in the Gulf. At Hurmūz dates and the sugar-cane grow abundantly. The revenues of Hurmūz, which is included in the Kirmān province, amount to 60,000 dīnārs, and this tax is paid over to the Treasury of Īrān.

SECTION 15. Concerning the (Great) Desert lying between Kirmān and Sīstān.

The beginning of the Great Desert is in the district of Qazvīn, at the village of Sūmiqān, which the Mongols call Āq Khwājah; and it extends to the shore of the 'Omān sea, on the frontiers of Hurmūz. The further (south-eastern) part is the broader; its southern boundary goes past the districts of Šāvah, Qum, Kāshān, Zuvārah, Nāyīn, Yazd and so on by Kirmān and Makrān till it comes to the sea; its northern boundary goes by the districts of Ray to Qūmis and the provinces of Khurāsān and Quhistān; then by Zāvul and Sīstān to Ghaznah and Kābul, and thence down to the sea-coast. The beginning of this Desert lies in the Fourth Clime, but after passing Ardīstān, and onwards till it comes to the sea, it lies in the Third Clime. Its length is 400 leagues, and its breadth in the beginning only 2 or 3 leagues; but at the lower end, near the sea, it is [۱۴۲] over 200 leagues across. In this Desert, although the inhabitants be fewer in number than they are in other deserts of the lands of Islam, yet robbers and brigands—who in fact are its only population—are more numerous here than in other desert places. The climate of the Desert further is temperate.

**Jarmaq.** There are here three villages lying on the road going (through the Desert) from Nīshāpūr to Iṣfahān. There are springs here, with palm groves, some cultivated fields and cattle.

**Safīd<sup>1</sup>.** Yāqūt says that this place lies on the frontiers of Sīstān.

**Ṭabas Gīlakī.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $92^{\circ} 31'$ , and latitude  $33^{\circ}$ . Its district has plentiful crops of corn, cotton and dates.

**Kuhbinān.** A small township of the Third Clime; they grow here corn and dates.

**Nih.** Of the Third Clime, and built by Ardashīr Bābakān.

**SECTION 16.** Concerning the provinces of Quhistān, Nīmruz and Zābulistān.

These include seventeen cities, and the climate here is temperate. The frontiers march with the Great Desert, Khurāsān, Transoxiana and Kābul. The revenues are included in the sum of those paid in to Khurāsān. The capital of these provinces is Sīstān City, but other great towns are Tūn, Qāyin, Khusf and Janābad.

**Sīstān.** This city has a broad and extensive district. It is of the Third Clime, and stands in longitude  $97^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $32^{\circ} 20'$ . It was built by the world-renowned hero Karshāsf, who gave it the name of Zarang, which the Arabs pronounce Zaranj. Near the Lake of Zirah he built a mighty dyke, to cross the road of the moving-sands, in order to preserve the city from damage as against these moving-sands (of the desert). After his days king Bahman restored the buildings of the city, renaming it Sagān, which the common folk changed to Sagistān, and this was pronounced by the Arabs, after Arab fashion, Sajistān, which finally in course of time became Sīstān. The climate is rather hot. Water is taken from the Siyāh Rūd canal, which is a branch from the Hirmand (Helmund) river. There are here numerous gardens, with much excellent fruit.

**Bust.** Of the Third Clime, in [ $14^{\circ}$ ] longitude  $82^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $33^{\circ}$ . A medium-sized town, with a temperate climate. Water is from the (Helmund) river. The crops are dates, corn and some little fruit. In the *Ṣurwar-al-Aqālīm* it is said that the people of Bust are very courteous.

**Takīnābād<sup>2</sup>.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $81^{\circ} 55'$ , and latitude  $33^{\circ} 20'$ . It is a medium-sized town, with a warm climate. Water is from mountain streams near by, and much fruit is grown here.

**Quhistān.** This region includes sixteen districts.

**Turshīz.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $92^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . It was founded by king Bahman. It is a small town of the hot region, and possesses a strongly fortified castle. Water is from underground channels, and there are many villages near by, with lands producing excellent crops. Corn is in plenty, good

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Sanīj.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown.

fruit is abundant—such as grapes, figs and pomegranates,—and silk is also produced. Thus they have crops of all kinds. Kashmar is a provincial town of this district, and here of old was a cypress tree, taller than any other in all the rest of the world. It was planted, it is said, by Jāmāsp the Wise, and more than once in the *Shāh Nāmāh* the Cypress of Kashmar is mentioned, as for instance in the couplet :

*And a branch of cypress from Paradise they brought,  
Which he planted before the gate of Kashmar.*

In the village of Kashmar no earthquake is ever felt, although, in various other places, of all the neighbourhood round and about, earthquakes are common. In the Turshīz district there are many strong castles (that belonged to the Assassins), as for instance these four, the Castle of Bardā Rūd, the Castle of Mīkāl, of Mujāhid-ābād and Ātashgāh (the Fire-temple). Corn and fruit are exported from this district to Nishāpūr, Sabzavār and the neighbouring parts. The city of Turshīz is itself now in ruin, but the lands round are extremely well cultivated.

**Tūn.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 92° 20', and latitude 34° 20'. It was formerly a large town, but is now only of medium size. The plan of the town was laid out after this fashion : first [۱۴۴] they built a mighty fortress with a very deep waterless ditch, then round the fortress they set the markets, next the houses of the city were built round the markets, then gardens and mulberry orchards were planted round about the houses, finally corn-fields further outside and round the gardens. Then beyond the corn-lands they raised dykes, to gather up the rain waters for the irrigation of the corn-lands, and in among these dykes they grew melons without need of further irrigation, which same were of extraordinary sweetness. The water of the town is from underground channels, the climate is temperate, both corn and fruit being grown, and silk too produced.

**Tabkhah<sup>1</sup>.** Of the Fourth Clime ; and as to latitude and longitude and climate it is just like Tūn.

**Junābad.** Commonly pronounced Gunābad. A small town, but larger than Khūr, with some dependencies lying round. It has a castle which was built by the son of Gūdarz, and the same is very strongly fortified. Looking from the summit of the hill the desert sands are in sight to the utmost view, surrounding the villages and lands, but these sands never encroach into their garden lands. Water is got from underground channels, which same are often four leagues in length, with pits going down to them that average 700 cubits in depth. There are many places in the dependencies (of Junābad), and all of these get their water from underground channels, nearly all of which are as deep as

<sup>1</sup> Many variants. Probably a mistake for Baiistān.

those just described; and their channels all run from South to north. There is a castle on either side of the town, one is called Qal'ah Khavāshīr, the other is Qal'ah Darjān. The crops are corn and fruit, also excellent silk is obtained here in abundance.

**Dasht-i-Bayāḍ.** This is not a town, but is the name of a district, of which the chief town is called Fāris, and it is the summer quarter of both Junābad and Tūn. The fruits of the cold region grow here, such as nuts, almonds and the like.

**Birjand.** A provincial town, round which much saffron is grown, with some little corn. There are some places of its dependencies, and in the villages here grapes and other fruits are grown. Nizārī the Poet was born here<sup>1</sup>.

**Khūsīf.** A small town with some dependencies. Their water is from the river, but for the villages the water is from underground channels. All kinds of crops are grown here.

**Shākhīn.** A district comprising several small villages, with the Fashā Rūd country [۱۴۰], and several other like places. All these neighbouring districts have the same crops and climate.

**Zīrkūh.** A district with three provincial towns, one called Isfadan, another Ashīr and the third Shārakht<sup>2</sup>. In the district round corn, cotton and grapes are grown, also silk is produced. The water of all the villages is from underground channels.

**Khūr.** A small town on the borders of the Great Desert. Its water is from underground channels, and it has many gardens.

**Ṭabas Masīnān.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude 94° 55', and latitude 33°. A small town of the hot region, where there are many palm groves. Water is from underground channels, which irrigate the corn-lands of the township during seventy days, and then during other seven days serve to irrigate the places of its district. In this neighbourhood there was a pit, the clay from which, to the amount of a millet-seed, if a man ate, he would die instantly; but of late this pit has been filled up. There is also in this district a well into which during winter much water flows, and flows out of it again during the summer, which same they use for their crops. And there is again another well, into which, when anyone looks down, he sees the likeness of a fish.

**Ṭabas Gīlakī<sup>3</sup>.** A small town of the Third Clime, in longitude 92° 9', and latitude 39°. It lies seven days' march from Yazd. The climate is exceedingly hot; dates, oranges and shaddocks grow most plentifully here though they are not to be found in any other place in Khurāsān. Water is from a spring, which is sufficiently abundant to work two mills. There is a strong fort, round which all pasture is lacking; and some villages are of its dependencies.

<sup>1</sup> He had been the friend of Sa'dī, and died in 720 (1320).

<sup>2</sup> Uncertain; many variants.

<sup>3</sup> Repeated, see above, p. 141.

**Qāy in.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $98^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ} 40'$ . It is a large town, with a strong castle. There are many underground water channels that flow beneath the town, so that in most houses they have made water-cellar to reach the same. Qāy in stands just [١٤٦] twenty leagues distant from all the other towns of the Quhistān province; Turshīz and Ṭabas Gilakī excepted. Its climate is temperate. The crops are corn, fruit and saffron in abundance. Nearly all the men here are warriors, and everybody carries arms ready for use. As soon as the first forty days of summer are past they begin to sow, and they reap in the early part of the season when the sun is in Sagittarius, getting in a plentiful harvest of the kind known as sour-barley, which same is most fattening to the cattle, and these become extremely plump by this fodder. Dilchaq, the jester of Sulṭān Maḥmūd son of Sabuktagīn, was from this town.

**Darah Castle.** A very strong fortress; and on the summit of the hill within the castle is a spring of water. The crops are corn, also fruit, with some few grape-vines.

**Mūminābād.** A district, comprising some villages with their dependencies. There is here a strong fortress, which was built by the Assassins, and this is well fortified.

**Zāvul (or Zābul).** A province both broad and long, which was of old a kingdom. Zābul too is the name of a large city of the hot region, where fruit is abundant, and where there are good hunting-grounds and fine pastures.

**Firūzkūh.** According to Yāqūt this is a strong castle lying between Herāt and Ghaznayn, it being the capital city of the kings of Ghaznayn. It has a cold climate, and water is from springs and cisterns.

**Ṭāq Castle.** A small town, where grapes grow abundantly, and some villages are of its dependencies.

**Ghaznayn (or Ghaznah).** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $81^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $33^{\circ} 21'$ . The latitude therefore is the same as that of Baghdād. It is a small town, but with a cold climate; and if difference of climate depended on the latitude only, these two cities would enjoy one and the same temperature. Now, throughout the First, Second and Third Climes, where the sun's altitude is much the same, the air is usually warm, while in the other Climes that are further (north) it is generally cold; but difference of climate is in fact mostly due to greater or lesser elevation of the ground level. Hence every place that is of high elevation is cold, while [١٤٧] all low-lying places are hot.

**Turthīth<sup>1</sup>.** A small town of the warm region. The Qāḍī Abū Bakr, who is the author of a work entitled *Shukr wa Shikāyat* (Gratitude and Complaint), is from here.

<sup>1</sup> Many variants, but probably a repetition of Turshīz; see above, p. 141.

**Maymand.** Of the Third Clime, in longitude  $81^{\circ} 55'$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ} 20'$ . A medium-sized town of the hot region, but lying in the hill country. It has its water from a river, also from springs. Its crops are corn, dates and fruit. It is the birth-place of Khwājah Ḥasan Maymandī, the well-known Vazīr of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznah.

**Qarnīn.** Yāqūt describes this as a provincial town of the Sīstān dependencies. The Ṣaffarids, sons of Layth the copper-smith, came originally from this town. Corn and some fruit are grown here.

## CHAPTER XIV

The province of Khurāsān: its revenues in early and later times. Nishāpūr: earthquakes: Shādyākh: watercourses: the Green Spring: marvels: fish with earring. Isfarāyīn and the castle of Su'ūk. Sabzavār and Juvayn. Jā-jarm: poisonous grass. Khabūshān. Tūs: the Shrine of the Imām 'Alī-al-Riḍā and the tomb of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Kilāt and Jirm. Herāt: its castle: splendour under Ghūr dynasty. Fūshanj. Bākhaz and Bādghīsh: the pistachio nut crop. Jām: Shrine of Zindah Pīl. Khwāf and Zāvah: tomb of Haydar. Ghūr and Gharjah. Balkh and Bāmiyān. Towns of the Jūzjān district. Khutlān and Ṭāliqān. Great Marv and its buildings. The four famous men of Khāvarān. Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd. The province of Māzandarān, and its seven districts. Jurjān: the Red Tomb. Āmul and Dihistān. Rustamdān and the port of Nīm Murdān. The provinces of Qūmis and Tabaristān. Dāmghān and the Windy Spring. Buṣṭām and the shrine of Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr. Damāvand and Khirqān. The province of Jilān. Tūlim and Rasht. Fūmin and Kaskar. Kawtam and Lāhijān.

SECTION 17. Describing the four Quarters of the province of Khurāsān.

There are numerous cities here, and the frontiers of the province are over against Quhistān, Qūmis, Māzandarān and the Khwārazm Desert.

The revenues of Khurāsān in earlier times were included in what was paid over by the whole kingdom of Īrān, and this quota during the times of the Ṭāhirid dynasty amounted to nearly ten million dīnārs. After the Mongol conquest, by reason that during most reigns the various Vazīrs and secretaries of the imperial treasury were themselves natives of Khurāsān, it was arranged through their influence that the provinces of Khurāsān, Quhistān, Qūmis, Māzandarān and Ṭabaristān should be formed into a region apart, their revenues being collected separately. Further the governors were granted abatements, by which device they would manage to keep back every year some 200,000 dīnārs from the revenues of this province, nominally for the pay of the troops. In the reign of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, however, his Vazīr the Amīr Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn (son of the celebrated Rashīd-ad-Dīn) becoming aware of this fraud determined no longer to allow facilities for the same. He gave orders, therefore, that the revenues of the Khurāsān province should be set at a fixed amount; then he established the sums payable for the provincial land-tax, and for the military fiefs, and for other proper expenses, and enjoined that the balance in moneys, together with the full accounts of these provinces, should be transmitted to the imperial treasury. Time, however, was not granted him to accomplish this reform, and



matters have still remained much in their former evil state<sup>6</sup> (since his death).

**The Nishāpūr Quarter.** Herein are many cities, and the climate is for the most part temperate.

**Nishāpūr.** Of the Fourth Clime, [۱۴۸] and at the present time this is the chief city of Khurāsān, standing in longitude  $92^{\circ} 32'$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ} 21'$ . It was founded by Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder, and after it had fallen to ruin Ardashīr Bābakān built the city of Nih in the desert near by. His son Sapor I was governor of Khurāsān, and he asked this city of his father, who however denied his request; whereupon, emulation seizing on Sapor, he rebuilt (the older ruined) city and gave it the name of Nih of Shāpūr, which as Nishāpūr became its proper name, and this the Ārabs called Naysābūr. The circuit of its walls was 15,000 paces; and it was laid out on the plan of a chess-board, in eight squares by eight squares, for the Chosroes had ever the habit to plan their cities after the form of some animal or inanimate thing. Sapor II planned and increased the buildings of this city, but the seat of government under the Chosroes, and down to the time of the fall of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, remained at Balkh and Marv, and it was only when the Ṣaffārids came to power that ʿAmr ibn Layth established the Government House in Nishāpūr, which from that time forth became the capital of Khurāsān. In the year 605 (1208) Nishāpūr was laid in ruins by an earthquake, whereupon a new city was built near by, which was called Shādyākh; and the circuit of its walls was 6900 paces. In the year 629 (1232) Shādyākh likewise was laid in ruins by another earthquake, and again a new city was built in another part of the plain. This is the town which is still standing, and is at the present time the capital of Khurāsān; and it lies at the foot of the mountain on the south-east of the same, the circuit of its walls being 15,000 paces.

Water is from springs and many underground channels—though some of these last are gone to ruin—and they run through the town passing under the houses. Along their courses cisterns and tanks have been made. Further, there is the river which flows down from the mountain lying some two leagues distant to the north-east of Nishāpūr, and which is very high. Along the two leagues of its course they have erected forty mills, and the current runs so swiftly that an ass-load of wheat is no sooner placed in the hopper of the mill than, in the time it takes but to sew up the heads of two flour-sacks, it is all ground into flour, and as yet the donkey is hardly come back again (that had carried off the previous sacks).

Five leagues distant to the north of the city, on the crest of the mountain, there is a pass where is a spring called Chashmah-i-Sabz (the Green Spring), [۱۴۹] from which pours forth sweet

water, but greenish in colour. The Amīr Chūpān<sup>1</sup> built a kiosk on the border of the spring, and going up to the roof of the kiosk, you may look down into the midst of the waters. Every Friday night a terrible voice is heard coming from the midst of the spring, and yet it stands five leagues distant from the nearest inhabited place. Further, saintly persons keeping vigil by night behold on the borders of this spring the forms of water-camels, and water-cows, and water-men, and they are then seen to graze all round and about it. From the spring the water flows down through the plain, and along its course are many houses and fields. There is also another spring, in the direction of Tūs and Rāyikān, and the Amīr Chūpān put a fish into its waters, with an earring fixed to that fish, having a pearl as big as a pigeon's egg set in the same. People in company and bands (of friends) are wont to take their pleasure here; they throw bread into the spring, and this fish will come and take the bread, thus diverting the folk. This spring lies four leagues distant from Tūs. Of famous shrines of holy men in Nīshāpūr there are these, namely the tomb of Abū 'Othmān Jahrumī, of Abū 'Alī Thaqafī, of 'Abd Allah Mubārak, and of Shaykh Farīd-ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār.

**Isfarāyīn.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 91°, and latitude 36° 33'. A city of medium size. In the mosque is an immense basin, the circumference of its lip measuring 12 tailor's ells, and certainly no larger cup than this has ever been made. To the north of the town lies the strongly fortified castle of Šu'luk. Some thirty villages are of the dependencies of Isfarāyīn. The climate is temperate. Water is taken from the river which flows at the foot of the castle, where many walnut trees grow, and this renders it unwholesome. The district round, and the dependent villages have their water from underground channels. Crops of all kinds, such as grapes with other fruit and corn, are grown.

**Bayhaq.** This is the name of the district, of which the chief city is Sabzavār. This last is of moderate size, of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 89° 15', and latitude 36° 55'. The climate is temperate. It has excellent and ample markets; further, they have built a mighty arch of wood, at the cross ways of the market street, and the same is high and strong. The crops are corn, some little [100] fruit and grapes. There are some forty villages of its dependencies. The people here are Shī'ahs of the sect of the Twelve Imāms.

**Biyār.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 89° 15', and latitude 34° 45'. A medium-sized town, with a temperate climate. Its crops are corn, and some little fruit.

**Juvayn.** This is a district that formerly was included in that of Bayhaq, but which is now counted as separate. Its chief town

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 14.

is called Fariyūmad, and other large places are Baḥrāḏād (or Yahya-ābād), where Sa'd-ad-Dīn Ḥamawī lived, also Arūkāzrī, Dilband and Khūrāshāh. The people here for the most part are Shāfi'ites. Water is had from underground channels, and every village has one or two of these that never fail. Crops are of all kinds, but fruit and grapes are not very abundant.

**Jājarm.** Of the Fourth Clime. A medium-sized town; and since for one or two days' journey all round the same the pasturage is of a poisonous herb, it is quite impossible for any army ever to approach this place. There is also a strong castle here. At its foot grow two plane trees; and it is asserted that if anyone on the morning of a Wednesday take between his teeth some of the bark of these trees he will never suffer again from tooth-ache. Hence much of the bark of these trees is carried off, serving to preserve the teeth. There are many villages of the dependencies of Jājarm, but houses are not easily obtained within the town. Crops of corn and fruit are abundant.

**Khabūshān.** A medium-sized town of the Fourth Clime. It has many dependencies, and in the government registers the district has the name of Ustū. After the Mongol conquest Hūlāgū Khān restored its buildings, and his grandson Arghūn Khān made further additions. It has an excellent climate, and abundant crops of corn, cotton, grapes and fruit.

**Shaqqān.** A medium-sized town, with twenty villages of its dependencies. It is of the Fourth Clime, and has crops of all kinds.

**Ṭūs.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $92^{\circ} 32'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ}$ . It was founded by king Jamshīd, and after it had fallen to ruin, was rebuilt by Ṭūs, son of Nawdhar, and he gave the town [١٠١] his own name. Among other great shrines there is here the tomb of the (Eighth) Imām 'Alī-ar-Riḏā in the village of Nūqān (or Sanābād), which lies four leagues distant from Ṭūs; and the grave of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd also is within the precincts of this same shrine. The shrine of Ṭūs is indeed among the most venerated of holy places, and at the present day the shrine has become a little town. From the shrine to Zāvah and Sanjān it is fifteen leagues, and Quṭb-ad-Dīn Ḥaydar is buried in Zāvah, and Shāh Sanjān in Sanjān, and Sulṭān Sulaymān in the district of Bākharz. In the south-western quarter of Ṭūs is a gateway, near which 3000 saints, all of the name of Abū Bakr, are buried, and this sanctuary is called the Rūdbār Gate. To the east of Ṭūs are the tombs of (the great divine) Muḥammad Ghazzālī, and of Aḥmad Ghazzālī, also of Firdawsī (the poet), and of Ma'shūq Ṭūsī. The people of Ṭūs are pure in life and of orthodox belief, being friendly to strangers. Of fruits the grapes and figs grown here are abundant and sweet. Round Ṭūs lies the pasturage known as the Rāyikān Meadows,

12 leagues in length by 5 across, and they are among the most celebrated in the world.

**Kilāt and Jirm.** Kilāt is a very strong fortress and (so extensive) that in its precincts are arable lands for crops, and water here is plentiful. Jirm is a town at the base of the fortress, with some villages round it that are of its dependencies.

**Marsān (or Marīnān).** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $90^{\circ} 20'$  and latitude  $36^{\circ}$ . It is a small town, with a rather cold climate. It has running water, many gardens and produces much corn.

**Farāvah.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $90^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $39^{\circ}$ . A medium-sized town, with a good and temperate climate. Corn and fruit are grown here.

**The Herāt Quarter.** This Quarter includes nine tūmāns, and it is a broad district, all of the Fourth Clime.

**Herāt.** Of the Fourth Clime, in [ $10^{\circ}$ ] longitude  $94^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $34^{\circ} 20'$ . Herāt was the name of one of the chiefs among the followers of the hero Narīmān, and it was he who first founded the city. After it had fallen to ruin Alexander the Great rebuilt it, and the circuit of its walls was 9000 paces. The climate is most excellent and pleasant, for during all the summer the north wind blows; and alluding to this, the (Arabic) saying goes: *If the soil of Isfahān, and the north wind of Herāt, and the water of Khwārazm were but all found in one country, verily but few people would ever die there.* The water of Herāt is from a canal derived from the Harī Rūd (Herāt river). Gardens are numerous, and there are eighteen villages lying close round and about the city. Of fruits there are the *Fakhrī* grapes and excellent melons. The men here are warlike and carry arms, being given to treachery; and they are Sunnīs in creed. There is here a strong castle known as Shamīram, and two leagues distant from Herāt on a hill there is a Fire-temple that was known as Arshak, but which at the present day is called the Castle of Amkalchah. Also, between this Fire-temple and the city, there once stood a Christian church. Of the great shrines of pious and learned men (buried in Herāt) there is the tomb of the Shaykh ʿAbd-Allah Anṣārī, more generally known as Pīr-i-Harī (the Old Man of Herāt), and further that of Khwājah Muḥammad Abū-l-Walīd, and of the Imām Fakhr-ad-Dīn Rāzī (of Ray). Concerning the excellence of Herāt a poet has said:

*If any one ask thee which is the pleasantest of cities,  
Thou mayest answer him aright that it is Herāt.  
For the world is like the sea, and the province of Khurāsān  
like a pearl-oyster therein,  
The city of Herāt being as the pearl in the middle of the  
oyster.*

During the time when the kings of Ghūr ruled here, there were 12,000 shops all fully occupied, and 6000 bath-houses; besides caravanserais and mills, there were 359 colleges, also a Darvīsh convent, a Fire-temple, and lastly 444,000 houses inhabited by a settled population.

**Asfuzār** (or Isfīzār). A medium-sized town, with villages of its dependencies. Its many gardens produce an abundance of grapes with pomegranates and other fruits. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is said that the people here are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿite sect, being also very bigoted.

**Fūshanj**. Of the Fourth Clime, in [۱۰۴] longitude 94° 5', and latitude 34° 55'. It is a small town, but has very extensive districts round, among its dependent towns being Kūsūy, Khusrawgird and Rūh, besides other pleasant places. Gardens abound, with grapes, melons and other excellent fruit, so that it is said over a hundred kinds of grapes are grown here. All the mills here are worked by wind. Further, it is stated that the Pharaoh who reigned in Egypt in the time of Moses, as also Hāmān who was his Vazīr, both came from this place; and it is said too that Jāmāsp the Sage lies buried in Kūsūy.

**Bākharz**. A district of the Fourth Clime, with many rich sub-districts, in most of which there are gardens growing grapes and much fruit. Such especially is Mālān, a large town of many excellencies, and among the rest they grow here the long melon which is famous throughout Khurāsān.

**Bādghīsh**. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 95° 30', and latitude 35° 20'. Its chief towns are Kūh Nuqrah (Silver-Hill), Kūh Ghunābād, Buzurgtarīn, Bust, Lab and Hād, Azkāyirūn, Kālūn and Dihistān<sup>1</sup>, with their dependencies. The residence of the governor is Kūh Ghunābād, while in its neighbourhood are Buzurgtarīn, Dihistān and Kārīz, which last was where the Veiled (Prophet of Khurāsān) once lived, who is known as the Moon-maker of Nakhshab. In this district there is a forest, some five leagues long and the like across, that is all full of pistachio nut trees. When these are bearing the fruit, people come hither from Herāt and other places, who gather the pistachio nuts, carrying them off home for their own consumption, also to sell; and there are many whose whole livelihood depends on the crop they gather here. And further, there is this marvel, that if any one in so doing should carry off the pistachio nuts that another has gathered, that very same night his ass will be eaten by a wolf, while he who does no such evil thing, his ass remains safe.

**Jām**. Of the Fourth Clime [۱۰۴], in longitude 94° 5', and latitude 34° 50'. A medium-sized town, with nearly 200 villages of its dependencies. There are many gardens, with much fruit.

<sup>1</sup> Many variants, names uncertain.

Water, for both the town and district, is got from underground channels. A celebrated shrine here is the tomb of Zindah Pīl Aḥmad of Jām, over which Khwājah ‘Alā-ad-Dīn Muḥammad has built a fine dome, and other shrines with many other blessed graves lie all round this place.

**Chast.** A medium-sized town; with a district that includes 50 villages; it lies on the river Harī Rūd. At the present day Chast also is where the governor (of the province) lives. The crops are abundant, the fruit excellent, more especially the large white apple, the like of which is found nowhere else in Khurāsān.

**Khwāf.** A district lying in longitude  $98^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ} 20'$ . The chief towns of its dependency are Salāmāh, Sanjān and Zawzan; and in this last Malik Zawzanī built a mighty palace. Fruits here are excellent, such as grapes, melons, pomegranates and figs. The people are of the Ḥanīfite sect, they are law abiding and very much attached to their faith. They are friendly to strangers, being given to charity; and they often make the pilgrimage (to Mecca). Much silk and madder is produced here.

**Zāvah.** A district, the chief town of which also is called Zāvah. It has a strong clay-built castle. Some 50 villages are of its dependencies, some having their water from a river, and some from underground channels. Silk is produced here, and the crops are corn, cotton, grapes and other fruit in abundance. There is seen here the shrine of Shaykh Quṭb-ad-Dīn Ḥaydar, who was the founder of the Ḥaydarī sect.

**Ghūr.** A district, of which the capital is known as Āhan-garān. It is of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $99^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . There are some 30 villages of its dependencies. The people here are commonly credited with being very stupid.

**Gharjah** (Gharjistān). Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $99^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ} 40'$ . It is a district that includes some 50 villages, and the climate resembles [100] that of Ghūr.

**The Balkh Quarter.** This includes Tukhāristān, Khutlān and Bāmiyān.

**Balkh.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $81^{\circ} 41'$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ} 41'$ . The city was founded by Gayūmarth, completed by Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder, and its buildings were afterwards restored by Luhrāsp, who set a wall round it. It is a large city in the hot region, and its climate is only moderately healthy. Fruits, especially grapes and melons, are extremely good here. Sulṭān Malik Shāh in his *Diary* notes that the people here show very little jealousy.

**Bāmiyān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $82^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $34^{\circ} 35'$ . The climate is cold. At the time of the Mongol invasion Prince Mūtūkīn, son of Jaghatāy Khān, met his death (during the siege of Bāmiyān), and for this reason, to avenge his

grandson, Changhīz Khān ordered the town to be laid in ruins, renaming the place Māv Bāliq ('Bad town' in Mongol), and commanding that no one should ever build or settle there. And so it remains a ruin even to the present time.

**Panjhīr.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $82^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ} 35'$ . A medium-sized town, with a good climate; and the crops are corn, with some little fruit.

**Jūzjān.** A district, the cities of which are Yahūdah, Fāryāb and Shubūrqn. It is of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $98^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ} 20'$ . It has a temperate climate. Water is from underground channels, which come down from the mountains of that neighbourhood. Some little corn and fruit is grown here.

**Khutlān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $81^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $20^{\circ}$ . There was a large town here, but it is now in ruins. The crops are corn, cotton and grapes.

**Saminjān.** Of the Tukhāristān district, in the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $82^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ}$ . It is a small town; and on the western side are three suburbs, all standing one close to the other, while on the eastern side are other three suburbs, all standing separate one from the other. It has a strong castle; water is plentiful, and there are many gardens, [۱۰۶] with fruit, such as grapes, figs, peaches and pistachios, which are both excellent and plentiful.

**Ṭāliqn.** Of the Tukhāristān district, in the Fourth Clime, longitude  $81^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $20^{\circ} 35'$ . A small town, and most of the men there are weavers. Corn and fruit is grown abundantly; it being a very populous and well-cultivated district.

**Fāryāb.** Of the Fourth Clime, in the Jūzjān district, longitude  $99^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 45'$ . It is a small town, smaller than Ṭāliqn, but with many dependencies and much fruit.

**Quvādiyān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $82^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . Kay Qubād, the Kayanian, built this town, and other places belonging to its district are Navīdah, Vāshjird and Shūmān. The climate is warm, and much saffron is grown here.

**Kālīf.** A small town lying on the banks of the Oxus, which last at this point is 3000 paces broad. The circuit of the town wall is also 3000 paces. The climate is harsh, but fruit is excellent and plentiful.

**Dalāj<sup>1</sup>.** A castle lying twenty (or eight) leagues from Balkh. It stands on a mountain that is eight leagues in circuit, and is entirely of black rock, with no road up to it. On the summit there is abundant water and pasture; it is a very strong place.

**The Marv Shāhijān Quarter.**

**Marv.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $96^{\circ} 7'$ , and latitude

<sup>1</sup> Unknown, many variants, possibly a mistake for Awzaj.

37° 40'. The Old Fort of Marv was built by Ṭahmūrath, and Alexander the Great founded the city, making it the capital of Khurāsān. Abū Muslim, the Abbasid missionary, built the Friday Mosque, and alongside of it the Government House. This was a mighty palace, with a dome that covered a space 55 ells square; and on each side of this was a hall 30 ells by 60 ells. The Caliph Mamūn, when he was still only governor of Khurāsān, resided in Marv; but afterwards the Ṣaffārīds transferred the capital to Nīshāpūr. When the Saljūqs came to power, Chaghar Beg brought the capital back to Marv; and his grandson, Malik Shāh, [10v] built a wall round the city, the circuit of which was 12,300 paces. In this district wheat grows so well that it is even as the Qurān (ch. II. v. 263) says—*the likeness of those who expend their wealth in the cause of God is that of a grain of corn, which produceth seven ears, and in each ear a hundred grains*—and the same is supposed to have been revealed in reference to the Marv district. For they say that one *mann*-weight of corn, when it is sown, produces a harvest of 100 *manns* in the first year; and in the second year 30 *manns* is harvested, from that which, having been reaped, has scattered again of itself the seed; and likewise in the third year 10 *manns*. The climate here is damp, and sickness is common, more especially the malady of the guinea-worm. Water is from the river Marv-Rūd; and the water of the underground channels is brackish, for which same cause its crops are so abundant. Here and there the moving-sand (of the Desert) comes in (over the arable lands), for near by these moving-sands are over-mastering the land. Of fruits pears, grapes and melons are excellent; these last, dried, being exported to many lands, and the single quinces too are very good. The people here are much given to fighting, and the city now is mostly in ruin. In the past many great and learned persons have come from here; as, for instance, under the Chosroes, Barzūyah the physician, Buzurjmīhr son of Bakhtikān (the Vazīr), and Bārbad the musician. Further, Dīh Safīdanj<sup>1</sup>, which is one of the farmsteads near Marv, was the original home of Abū Muslim, the missionary of the Abbasids.

**Usfūrqān**<sup>2</sup>. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 95°, and latitude 36° 45'. A small town, where nothing is grown but wheat.

**Abīvard**. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 98° 40', and latitude 37° 25'. A small town, where much fruit is grown.

**Taftāzān**<sup>3</sup>. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 95°, and latitude 36° 45'. A medium-sized town, with many gardens, water being plentiful, with running streams. Its crops are fruit and corn.

<sup>1</sup> Or Safandaj, Ibn Khallikān gives Sanjird of Fāridān as the name; or the village of Mahwān.

<sup>2</sup> Or Shuburqān.

<sup>3</sup> Near Nasā.



**Khāvarān**<sup>1</sup>. Of the Fourth Clime, in latitude 40° 40', and longitude 95°. A medium-sized town, with many gardens and abundant running water. [۱۰۸] Much fruit and corn are grown. One of the dependencies of Khāvarān is the town of Mihnah, the home of the Shaykh Abū Sa'īd, son of Abū-l-Khayr—may Allah sanctify his tomb—and here he lies buried. The following verses were written in honour of the great men who took their origin from Khāvarān :

*Since the sphere of Fame revolved over the land of Khāvarān  
Before night closed in, there arose four Khāvarī Suns;  
A Minister like Abū 'Alī Shādānī, that lord of a lucky con-  
junction;  
A Muftī like As'ad of Mihnah, free of every fault;  
A pure Sūfī like Abū Sa'īd, that master of the mystic Path;  
And a glorious poet like the famous Anvarī of Khurāsān.  
Rejoice, O earth and water of Khāvarān, for verily by grace,  
And like the earth and the water of the sea, thou hast produced  
a mine of jewels*<sup>2</sup>.

**Sarakhs**. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 94° 20', and latitude 37°. It was founded by Afrāsiyāb the Turk, and the circuit of its walls was 5000 paces. It has a strong castle, built on clay foundations. The climate is hot, and the water is from the great river which comes down from Herāt and from Tūs; and its waters are excellent and digestive. Of fruits grown here, grapes and melons are very good.

**Shuburqān**<sup>3</sup>. A small town, with a hot climate. Corn is plentiful here, and very cheap.

**Marv-ar-Rūd**. Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 97°, and latitude 36° 20'. Among its dependent towns is Panj-dīh, which Sultān Malik Shāh built. The circuit of the wall of Marv-ar-Rūd is 5000 paces. It has a warm climate, but the air is sharp. The water is wholesome, and in most seasons provisions are plentiful; grapes and melons being especially excellent here. Many villages [۱۰۹] are of its dependencies.

**Bāzar**<sup>4</sup>. A medium-sized town of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 95°, and latitude 36° 40'. In its district much corn is grown.

<sup>1</sup> Many MSS. give Khāvardān.

<sup>2</sup> Dawlat Shāh, who gives these verses (with some variants and omitting the last couplet), notes that of these four celebrated natives of Khāvarān, Abū 'Alī Shādān was minister to Tughril Beg the Saljūq, being also the predecessor and protector of Nizām-al-Mulk; As'ad of Mihnah, a contemporary of Ghazzālī, was a famous doctor of divinity; Abū Sa'īd ibn Abū-l-Khayr was a celebrated mystic, whose quatrains are well known (see E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II. 261 to 269); and finally Anvarī is one of the best-known Persian poets.

<sup>3</sup> Duplicate, the same as Ufūrqān, see previous page. Yāqūt also gives Shuburqān and Shuburqān as though different towns.

<sup>4</sup> Many variants for this and the next. Neither places appear to be mentioned by other geographers. For the Poet Mas'ūd, see *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 693.

**Nāy Castle.** This was the place of captivity of (the Poet) Mas'ūd, son of Sa'd, son of Salmān.

**SECTION 18.** Concerning the province of Māzandarān.

This comprises seven tūmāns, as follows: first, the Jurjān tūmān, where is the capital; second, Mūrūstāq; third, Astarābād; fourth, Āmul and Rustamdār; fifth, Dihistān; sixth, Rūghad; and seventh, Siyāh Rustāq<sup>1</sup>. The revenues of Māzandarān are included in the sum of those of Khurāsān.

**Jurjān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 90°, and latitude 36° 55'. The city was refounded by the grandson of Malik Shāh. The circuit of its walls is 7000 paces. The climate is warm and damp. The water is from the hill streams; and, further, the hills are so near that in the hot season they bring down snow from thence into the town. Corn and cotton, also silk, are alike found here; and of fruits, dates, grapes, with the Jujube-tree and its fruit, all are excellent and plentiful. As showing excellence in development and increase, it is found that trees here, of two or three years' growth, are stronger and more productive than those of ten years in other provinces. The people are Shī'ahs, and their bravery is known. In the early days of Islam too their numbers gave them predominance, but in the times of the Buyids a notable decrease in the inhabitants became visible by reason of pestilence and wars; and, further, a general massacre of the people took place when the Mongols made their invasion. At the present day the town is in ruins, and the number of the population small. King Firūz the Sassanian built a wall on the frontier of Jurjān to repel the attacks of the Turanians, and it is 50 leagues in length. Among the notable shrines here is the tomb of Muḥammad, son of the Imām Ja'far-aṣ-Ṣādiq, which same is known commonly as the Gūr-i-Surkh (the Red Tomb). Further, in Jurjān may be seen two millstones, each 20 ells in diameter and 2 ells in thickness.

**Astarābād.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 89° 35', and latitude 36° 55'. It is a medium-sized town [١٦٠], situated at no great distance from the Caspian, with a mild climate. It produces corn, fruit, grapes and silk.

**Āmul.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude 87° 20', and latitude 36° 30'. It was founded by king Ṭahmūrath. It is a large town, with a warm climate, and the fruits of both the hot and the cold region grow here. Such are walnuts and almonds, grapes and dates, oranges, shaddocks and lemons, with the bitter orange; all these fruits growing together in abundance; also perfumed flowers very excellent and rich; and in fact if the city were cut off entirely from all imports, nothing more beside what it could itself produce would be needed.

<sup>1</sup> Many variants. The positions of Mūrūstāq, Rūghad and Siyāh Rustāq are unknown.

**Dihistān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $91^{\circ} 14'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 55'$ . It was founded by king Qubād, son of Fīrūz the Sassanian. Later it became one of the frontier fortresses of the Moslems against the (heathen) Turks. It has a warm climate, with water from a river; and its lands produce some little fruit.

**Rustamdār.** A district that counts nearly 300 villages of its dependencies. The climate is warm, and most of its lands are watered by the river Shāhrūd.

**Sārī.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $83^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ}$ . It was founded by Ṭahmūrath the Demon-binder. It is a medium-sized town, the circuit of its walls being about 4000 paces. There are many districts of its dependencies, where fruit, cotton and corn in plenty are grown.

**Rūghad.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $88^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ}$ . It is a town of medium size.

**Kabūd Jāmah.** A district that, like Jurjān, is now ruined, but many places are counted of its dependencies where silk is still produced, with corn and grapes in plenty, for it has many broad lands.

**Nīm Murdān.** A peninsula (or island), and there are here many folk. Ships from Russia, Gīlān and Māzandarān come hither. It lies but three leagues distant from Astarābād, and has great revenues by reason of the shipping.

**Shahrābād.** A market town, founded by king Qubād, son of Fīrūz the Sassanian. It is now in ruins. [۱۱۱]

SECTION 19. Describing the provinces of Qūmis and Ṭabaristān.

The frontiers of these provinces march with Khurāsān, Persian 'Irāq, Māzandarān and the Great Desert. Their revenues are included in the sum of those of Khurāsān.

**Khuvār.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $87^{\circ} 10'$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ} 20'$ . It is a small town, but corn and cotton grow excellently here.

**Dāmghān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $88^{\circ} 15'$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ} 20'$ . It was founded by Hūshang. The circuit of its walls is 8000 paces. The climate is warm; water is from its river. The pears here are excellent. There is a spring near by Dāmghān, round which stand four villages. It gives but little water, and what there is, is rather yellow in colour. But if any dirt shall be thrown into it a wind forthwith arises in Dāmghān that blows down all the trees. Then some respectable folk go and cleanse the spring, and thereupon the wind falls. Many times has this experiment been made.

**Samnān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $83^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ}$ . It was founded by Ṭahmūrath. The climate is temperate. Water is from its river; and fruits, such as pomegranates, pistachios and figs, are of excellent quality here.

**Buṣṭām.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $89^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $36^{\circ} 10'$ . A small town, with a temperate climate. Of shrines here there is the tomb of that Sultān of the Learned Abū Yazīd (Bāyazīd) Ṭayfūr Buṣṭāmī. The crops of Buṣṭām are fruit and corn in abundance.

**Girdkūh.** This is also called Diz-i-Gunbadān (the Fort of the Domes). It lies three leagues from Dāmghān, and in its neighbourhood are the other castles of Manṣūrābād, Muhāt, and Rustāq. The land is much cultivated, and crops are abundant.

**Fīrūzkūh.** Yāqūt mentions this as a castle lying on the slopes of Mount Damāvand. The climate is cold, and there are no trees here, but corn grows abundantly, giving excellent harvests. The river flowing down to Khuvār runs past the gate of this castle, and by the village near here. [۱۱۲]

**Damāvand.** A provincial town, which is also known as Pashyān (or Mīshān). It is of the Fourth Clime, lying in longitude  $87^{\circ} 20'$ , and latitude  $35^{\circ} 10'$ , and it was founded by king Gayūmarth. The climate is cold, and the *Abbāsī* (apple) here is excellent, so good indeed that they make a syrup therefrom.

**Fīrrīm<sup>1</sup>.** Some count this as of Qūmis, some as of the dependencies of Māzandarān. On the other hand, as it is often considered to belong to Sārī, being put under the command of the governor of that city, it is counted either as of Qūmis or of Sārī.

**Khīrqān.** A village of the dependencies of Buṣṭām. The climate is good, and water is abundant. Among shrines here is seen the tomb of Shaykh Abū-l-Ḥasan Khīrqānī.

#### SECTION 20. Concerning the province of the Jīlāns.

There are here twelve towns, being of the Fourth Clime. The province lies along the shore of the Caspian Sea; in length, from the river Safīd Rūd and Rustamdār to the Mughān province, being 40 leagues; but in breadth, from the districts of Daylam and Ṭālīsh down to the sea-coast, being (often) only one league. Its frontiers march with the provinces of Māzandarān, Persian *ʿIrāq*, *ʿAdharbāyjān* and the Caspian Sea. As to its revenues, every man of Jīlān is bound to pay a tax to the Amīr who is the governor of his particular district; and to the Mongol treasury what is paid in is 20,000 dīnārs. The two largest places here are Lāhījān and Fūmin, and all the remaining Jīlān districts are dependent on one or the other of these two towns, being counted as of their dependencies.

**Isfahbad.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $85^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . A medium-sized town. Its crops are corn, rice and some fruit. It has many districts, and nearly one hundred villages are of its dependencies. Its revenues amount to 29,000 dīnārs.

<sup>1</sup> Position unknown.

**Tūlim.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $85^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . A medium-sized town, with crops of corn, cotton, rice, oranges, shaddocks and lemons.

**Tamījān**<sup>1</sup>. A medium-sized town, of the Fourth Clime, with crops like those of neighbouring places.

**Rasht.** Of the Fourth Clime. It is very hot, and its climate is damp. Corn, [۱۶۳] cotton, silk and rice are produced here. The people are mountaineers, and a rough folk.

**Shaft.** A small town of the Fourth Clime, with climate and produce like those of neighbouring places.

**Fūmin.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $84^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $33^{\circ}$ . A large town, with many districts. Its crops are corn and cotton; much silk too is produced here. The people of Jilān hereabout, for the most part, live in booths of branches.

**Kaskar** (or Kashkar). A medium-sized town, of the Fourth Clime, and like neighbouring places as to climate.

**Kūjafhān**<sup>1</sup>. Of the Fourth Clime. It was founded by Ardashīr Bābakān, who gave it the name of Sahmash.

**Kawtam.** Of the Fourth Clime, and lying on the shore of the Caspian. It is a port frequented by ships sailing to and from Jurjān, Tabaristān and Shīrvān. Its crops are abundant.

**Karjiyān**<sup>1</sup>. Of the Fourth Clime. Of old it was a large place, but now is but a medium-sized town, with climate like the neighbouring places.

**Lāhijān.** Of the Fourth Clime, in longitude  $85^{\circ}$ , and latitude  $38^{\circ}$ . It is a large town, and the capital of Gilān. Its water is from mountain streams. It produces rice, also silk and some little corn, with oranges, shaddocks and other fruits of the hot region in abundance.

**Naysar**<sup>2</sup>. A small town of the Fourth Clime, and like other towns of Gilān in matter of climate.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown, many variants.

## CHAPTER XV

The Highroads: length of the Farsakh or League. The Southern Highroad: Sultāniyyah to Baghdād and Najaf. Thence to Mecca. Mecca to Medina. Medina to Najaf. Wāsīt to Thā'labiyyah. Baghdād to Baṣrah, and thence to Bahrayn. Baṣrah to Qays. Baghdād to Iṣfahān. Baghdād to Raḥbah, and Baghdād to Mosul. The Eastern Highroad, from Sultāniyyah by Ray, Nishāpūr and Marv-ar-Rūd to the Oxus beyond Balkh. Bustām to Urganj. Nishāpūr to Herāt. Nishāpūr to Turshīz. Herāt to Zaranj. Herāt to Marv. Marv to Balkh. Marv to Urganj. The Northern Highroad. Sultāniyyah to Bājarvān. Bājarvān to Mahmūdābād. Bājarvān to Qarābāgh and Tiflis. Bājarvān to Tabriz. The Western Highroad. Sultāniyyah to Tabriz and Sīvās. The South-eastern Highroad. Sultāniyyah to Iṣfahān. Iṣfahān to Shīrāz. Shīrāz to Qays Island. Thence, by Sea, to Ceylon. Shīrāz to Kāziūn. Shīrāz to Hurmūz. Shīrāz to Īg. Shīrāz to Kirmān. Shīrāz to Yazd. Shīrāz to Arrajān and Bustānak

DIVISION III, in five sections; describing the Highroads, Mountains, Minerals, Rivers, Springs and Wells, Seas and Lakes (of the Land of Īrān).

SECTION I. As to the distances along the highroads of Īrān.

When discussing the length of the League (*Farsakh*) in the earlier part of this work, it was explained how in ancient days the learned, in the reign of king Kay Qubād the Kayānian, established the length of the League to be three miles, which is equivalent to 12,000 Common Ells (*Dhīrā<sup>c</sup> Khalqī*), which is other than the measure known as the Tailor's Cubit (*Gaz-i-Khayyātī*). Now in [۱۱۴] the *Diary* of Malik Shāh it is recorded that this monarch, becoming acquainted with the varying lengths of the Farsakh in his journeyings over the many roads of Īrān and of his other kingdoms, gave orders to measure the (various) Farsakhs. And it was found that while the League was of 15,000 paces (*Gām*) in Khwārazm more or less, in Ādharbāyjān and Armenia it was only of about 10,000 paces; and throughout the Two 'Irāqs, Kurdistān, Luristān, Khūzistān, Khurāsān, Fārs, Shabānkārah and Diyār Bakr, with their neighbouring districts, the Farsakh measured but 6000 paces. Then, furthermore, in the provinces of Rūm (Asia Minor), Gurjistān, Arrān, Mūghān and Shīrvān, the Farsakh was not in use, distances being counted in Stages (*Manzil*) and by time. Malik Shāh, therefore, throughout his dominions established the use of the League which averaged 6000 paces, and the distances along the roads that he traversed are stage by stage set down in his *Diary* after this computation. Later, in the reign of Ūljāytū Sultān the Mongol, when after this same fashion various

roads were measured, and mile-stones set up, the Farsakh was counted, approximately, as of 8000 Tailor's Cubits (*Gas-i-Khay-yāfī*). Now, the Common Ell (mentioned above) being but two-thirds of the length of the Tailor's Cubit, and the average Pace (*Gām*) being of greater length than the Tailor's Cubit, all the above estimates of the League work out to about the same result, and this may be taken as equivalent more or less to the Farsakh of 12,000 Common Ells, as estimated by the learned men of former days.

We now begin with the highroads going out of the city of Sultāniyyah, which stands in the midst of Īrān and has come to be its capital, the which roads lead to the furthest frontiers of the land; and thereto we shall add the description of the bye-roads that branch from the highroads in order that without fail all may be made comprehensible<sup>1</sup>.

The Southern Highroad.—This goes towards the Qiblah point, which, starting from Sultāniyyah, leads to Najaf at the frontier of Īrān; and the distance is 144 leagues.

From Sultāniyyah to Hamadān.—Sultāniyyah 5 leagues to Bajshīr village thence 5 to Walaj village, thence 4 to the Rubāt of Atabeg Muḥammad ibn Īldagiz, thence 4 to Karkahar village in the Hamadān province, thence 6 to Sāji village of Hamadān, thence [۱۰] 6 to the city of Hamadān. Total from Sultāniyyah to Hamadān 30 leagues<sup>2</sup>.

From Hamadān to Qasr-i-Shirīn.—Hamadān by the pass over mount Arvand (Elvend) in 7 leagues to the city of Asadābād, thence it is 6 to Kangavar the first village in Kurdistān. Kangavar in 5 leagues to Sahnah village, thence 4 to Jamjamāl city, thence in 6 leagues—the terrace of the horse Shabdiz lying one

<sup>1</sup> In the following routes, for identifications of mediaeval names with those found on the present maps, two papers by W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Persien*, may be consulted in the Vienna *Sitzungsbericht der K. Akad. der Wiss.*—*Phil. Hist. Classe*, vol. CII. (1882), p. 145, and vol. CVIII. (1884), p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> The stages as far as Hamadān are not given in any of the Arab Itineraries—Sultāniyyah only having been built and made the capital of the Ilkhāns in the reign of Ūljāytū—and most of the names of places mentioned in the list are uncertain. The country traversed is described in *Notes of a Journey from Kāzween to Hamadan*, by J. D. Rees (Madras, 1885), but the names given by Mustawfī do not occur. Dīh Bajshīr is given in the various MSS. as Lajshīr, Valāshjird, and Dīh Bakshih (*Dīh* being the Persian for 'village,' omitted or added, indifferently), and this may be Bīṭayn, a village at the right distance south of Sultāniyyah. For Dīh Karkahar some MSS. have Karkaharand, possibly for the present Kalatrung. Variants of Sāji are Sāhibī, Masāh-jīn, and Sājū. The word *Rubāt* (pronounced also *Ribāt* and *Rabāt*), which occurs frequently in the names of post-stations, means literally 'a tying-up place,' and came to signify a hospice, or guardhouse, notably on the frontier. Muḥammad ibn Īldagiz, the founder of the Rubāt mentioned, was Atabeg of Ādhar-bāyjan and virtual ruler of Īrāq from 568 to 581 (1172 to 1185). [*Rubāt* or *Ribāt*, generally translated 'Guard-house,' would, as regards Persia, be better rendered by 'Caravanserai.' Many old buildings still exist there bearing the name of Rubāt—one especially dating from the 6th century A.D.—and all are built on the plan of the Caravanserai. A. H. S.]

league to the right of the road, with the portraits of King Khusraw and Queen Shīrīn carved on the rocks at a place where two springs gush out that turn two mills—to Kirmānshāhān, thence 6 to Jakārmis, thence 5 to Hīsākāvān village, thence 6 to the villages of Kirind and Khūshān, thence by the Pass of Ṭāq-i-Girrā<sup>1</sup> in 8 leagues to Hulwān city; but by the Gil-wa-Gilān road this last stage is easier, though 1 league longer. Then from Hulwān, the first place in the province of Arabian °Irāq, it is 5 leagues to Qasr-i-Shīrīn, and the road here divides. From Hamadān to Qasr-i-Shīrīn it is 58 leagues, and 88 from Sultāniyyah<sup>2</sup>.

From Qasr-i-Shīrīn, on the road to Baghdād, it is 5 leagues to Khāniqīn city, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Jalūlā built by Malik-Shāh the Saljūq<sup>3</sup>, thence 5 to Hārūniyyah, thence—with Shahrabān lying 2 leagues distant to the right of the road—in 7 leagues to Ba<sup>c</sup>qūbā city, and thence 8 to Baghdād. Total (from Qasr-i-Shīrīn) to Baghdād 30 leagues, from Hamadān 88, and from Sultāniyyah 118 leagues.

From Baghdād to Najaf, on the frontier of Īrān.—From Baghdād [۱۱۱] it is 2 leagues to Sarṣar village, thence 7 to Farāshah<sup>4</sup>, thence 7 to the Nīl Canal, passing Nars village where Nimrod threw Abraham into the fire, this lying 1 league to the left of the road. From the Nīl Canal it is 2 leagues to the city of Hīllah—the city of Bābil lying on the Euphrates half a league away to the right hand. From Hīllah it is 6 leagues to the city of Kūfah, and 2 leagues distant from here lies the Mashhad (Place of Martyrdom) of °Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, at Najaf on the desert border. Total: from Baghdād to Najaf it is 26 leagues, from Hamadān 114, and from Sultāniyyah 144 leagues.

From Najaf to Mecca.—From Mashhad (°Alī) which lies on the border (of the desert) at Najaf to Mecca it is 27 stages. On these stages the Lady Zubaydah, wife of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, and

<sup>1</sup> [In the text, here and elsewhere, read Gīrrā for Kīzā. ‘The Arch of White Marble,’ at the top of the Pass. A. H. S.]

<sup>2</sup> The stages from Hamadān going south-west, but given the reverse way, are part of the great eastern highroad leading from Baghdād to Maiv, found in all the Arab Itineraries. For Jakārmish Khushkarish is the reading in Ibn Khurdādhbih; the *Nuzhat* MSS. give various readings, as Hakārmish, Chakārish, etc., and no place of this name now exists. Dih Hīsākāvān, the next place, is not identical with any stage mentioned by the Arab Itineraries, and many variants are given, Khafārkān, Jākavān, Hāfākādān, Janākān, and Khiyārkavān. No village of Khūshān (or Hāshān as a variant) is to be found on the map anywhere near Kirind. The road down by (Gil-wa-Gilān) with the Ṭāq-i-Girrā pass are both mentioned as places near where one of the affluents of the Nahravān takes its rise (see below, chapter XVIII), and Gilān is the name of a valley lying about 25 miles south of Sar-i-Pul: it joins the Hulwān valley from the N.W.

<sup>3</sup> Rubāṭ Jalūlā, a place famous in °Abbāsīd times, is probably the present caravan-serai of Qizil Rubāṭ (the Red Guardhouse).

<sup>4</sup> This is the route followed, in the reverse direction, by Ibn Jubayr; he is the only other authority to mention Farāshah. Bābil marks the ruins of Babylon.



Sultān Malik Shāh the Saljūq, and other great folk, have dug water-tanks, raised many buildings and set up signs to mark the way. From Mashhad (°Alī) it is 24 miles to Mughīthah, and the supping-place is at Wādī-as-Sibā° (Valley of Lions) after 15 miles<sup>1</sup>. The poet Jarīr wrote:

*Verily the great misfortune was the death of (Zubayr, rival of  
°Alī for the Caliphate), whose tomb  
Is at Wādī-as-Sibā°, and many warriors lie round him there.*

At Mughīthah there are cisterns. Thence to Qar°ā is 32 miles, where there are wells, and the supping-place is after 14 miles at Masjid Sa°d, who is of the Fazzārah tribe; the common folk, however, attribute this mosque to Sa°d ibn Abū Waqqāṣ (the conqueror of Arabian °Irāq). From Qar°ā it is 24 miles to Wāqisah, where there are wells, among the rest the Well of Qurūn, dug by Sultān Malik Shāh. This is 15 ells square, and 400 ells in depth, cut down through rock. The supping-place is at Ṭarf, after 14 miles. From Wāqisah it is 29 miles to °Aqabah Shaytān (the Devil's Pass), where there are wells. The supping-place is after 14 miles at Qubaybāt: mentioned by the poet, who says: [١٧]

*Shall we ever once again  
To Qubaybāt return?*

From °Aqabah to Qā° is 24 miles, where there are wells, and the supping-place is at Al-Jalhā after 13 miles. From Qā° to Zubālah 24 miles, here there is water abundantly, and the supping-place is at Juraysī after 14 miles. From Zubālah to Shuqūq 21 miles, where there are tanks<sup>2</sup>, and the supping-place is at Tanānīr after 14 miles. From Shuqūq to Bitān, otherwise Qabr-al-°Ibādī (the Tomb of the °Ibādite), 29 miles, where there are tanks, and the supping-place is at Bardīn after 14 miles. From Bitān to Tha°labiyyah 29 miles, and the supping-place is at Muhallabiyyah after 14 miles. Total: to Tha°labiyyah from Najaf 236 miles, which is 78 leagues and 2 miles: while from Baghdād it is counted 104 leagues and 2 miles. At Tha°labiyyah the road from Wāsiṭ (to Mecca) joins the road from Baghdād: and Tha°labiyyah is counted as at one-third of the distance from Baghdād to Mecca.

From Tha°labiyyah it is 32 miles to Khuzaymiyyah, where there are tanks, and the supping-place is at Ghumays after 14 miles. From Khuzaymiyyah to Ajfur is 24 miles, where there are tanks, and the supping-place is at Baṭn-al-Agharr after 14 miles. From Ajfur to Fayd<sup>3</sup> 33 miles, and here there is running water:

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this route, with some few additional notes, is copied from Ibn Khurdādhbih. In the desert it was the custom to start the day's march before sun-down, finishing it at sunrise, and making a halt for supper and a short rest about midnight at the *Muta°ashshī* or 'supper-place.'

<sup>2</sup> *Birkah* generally implies a covered cistern or reservoir, filled by the rains.

<sup>3</sup> Near Iḷāyil, the chief town of the Jabal Shammār district.

the supping-place is at Qarāyin after 20 miles. From Fayd to Tūz is 31 miles; here there are tanks and wells, and the supping-place is at Qurnatayn after 17 miles. From Tūz to Samīrā 20 miles, where there are tanks and wells, and the supping-place is at Fuḥaymah after 12 miles. From Samīrā to Hājir 36 miles, where there are tanks and wells, and the supping-place is at ʿAbbāsiyyah after 15 miles. From Hājir to Maʿdan Nuqrah (Silver Mine) 34 miles, where there are wells, and the supping-place is at Karawrā after 17 miles. Total from Thaʿlabiyyah to this place 210 miles, which is 70 leagues: and from Najaf it is 148 leagues and 2 miles, and from Baghdād 174 leagues [١٧٤] and 2 miles. Here the road to Medina branches off (to the right).

From Maʿdan Nuqrah to Mughīthat-al-Māwān 33 miles; here there are tanks and wells, and the supping-place is at Samṭ after 16 miles. From Mughīthat-al-Māwān to Rabadhah 24 miles, where there are wells and tanks, and the supping-place is at Arīmah after 14 miles. From Rabadhah to Maʿdan Banī Sulaym 24 miles, where there are tanks, and the supping-place is at Sharawrā after 12 miles. From Maʿdan Banī Sulaym to Salīlah 26 miles, and the supping-place is at Kunābayn after 12 miles. From Salīlah to ʿUmaq 21 miles, where there are tanks and wells, and the supping-place is at Sanjah after 12 miles. From ʿUmaq to Ufayʿiyah 32 miles; here there are tanks and wells, and the supping-place is at Kurāʿ after 15 miles. From Ufayʿiyah to Mislāḥ 34 miles, where there are wells and tanks, and the supping-place is at Kibrānah after 14 miles. From Mislāḥ to Ghamrah 18 miles; here there are wells and tanks, and the supping-place is at Qaṣr after 8 miles. From Ghamrah to Dhāt-al-ʿIrq is 26 miles: and here on this route is the *Miqāt* (Place of Meeting)<sup>1</sup>, though some count it as at Mislāḥ: and the supping-place is at Awṭās after 12 miles. At either Awṭās or Dhāt-al-ʿIrq the road from Basrah joins the (Baghdād-Mecca) road. From Dhāt-al-ʿIrq to Bustān (the Garden of) Ibn ʿĀmir is 22 miles, and here there is water in plenty, and the supping-place is at Ghamr Dhī Kindah after 15 miles. From Bustān Ibn ʿĀmir to Mecca is 24 miles, and the supping-place is at Mushāsh after 15 miles. Total: from Maʿdan Nuqrah to Mecca 284 miles, which make 94 leagues and 2 miles: and from Thaʿlabiyyah 164 leagues and 2 miles: and from Najaf 243 leagues and 1 mile: and from Baghdād 269 leagues and 1 mile: and from Hamadān 357 leagues and 1 mile: and from Sulṭāniyyah 387 leagues and 1 mile.

In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is given that the road direct from Najaf to Mecca is just 27 marches, [١٧٤] while from Kūfah to Medina it is 20 marches and from Medina to Mecca 10 marches.

From Meccā to Medina by the highroad.—From Mecca to

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5.

Baṭn Marr 16 miles; here there is a spring and a tank. Thence to ʿUṣfān 33 miles, where there are wells. Thence to Qudayd, where there are wells, 24 miles. Thence to Juḥfah, which is the *Mīqāt* (Place of Meeting) of pilgrims coming from Syria, 27 miles; and the Red Sea lies but 5 miles distant at this stage. Thence to the village of Abwā, where there are wells, 27 miles. Thence to Suqyā, where there is running water, 29 miles. Thence to Ruwaythah, where there is a water-tank, 36 miles. Thence to Siyālah, where there are wells, 34 miles. Thence to Malal, where there are wells, 19 miles. Thence to Shajarah 12 miles, and thence to Medina 3 miles. Total from Mecca to Medina 260 miles, which is 86 leagues and 2 miles.

(From Mecca to Medina) by the Badr road<sup>1</sup>.—From Mecca to the village of Ḥayy 3 leagues. Thence to the Cave of Abū Bakr and ʿOthmān (or ʿOmar), called Sīsān, or Rafīʿ, 6 leagues. Thence to the Water of Al-Khulays, where is the pass called ʿAqabah Suwayq, 8 leagues. Thence to the Cave of Ṭafwah Rathiḳ, otherwise called Wādī Ṭafwān, 8 leagues. Thence to the Water of Rabiṭ ʿArāb, and Suʿāl Rāthiḳ and Suʿāl Abḥūd, where stands the column of Abū Jahl, 8 leagues. Thence to the Valley of Badr 8 leagues. Thence to Badr and Hunayn 9 leagues. Thence to Wādī-aṣ-Ṣafrā 6 leagues. Thence to Wādī-al-Ghazāl 8 leagues. Thence to Dhū-l-Ḥulayfah, which is the *Mīqāt* (Place of Meeting), 7 leagues. Thence to the well of the Caliph ʿAlī 8 leagues; and thence to Medina 2 leagues. [۱۷۰.] Total: 243 miles, which is 81 leagues.

(From Mecca to Medina) by the route that the Prophet went on the occasion of his Flight.—From below Mecca the guide led him down to near the sea-coast at ʿUṣfān: thence by the road passing Qudayd he went up through Al-Kharrār and by the pass called Thaniyat-al-Marāh. Thence he passed on by the Madlajah (water-trough) of Mujāj; then by Marjih; then by Baṭn Marjih of Dhū-l-Ghaḍawayn; then by Baṭn Dhāt Kisḥd; then by Al-Ajrad; then by Dhū Samur; then by Baṭn Aʿdā, and the water-trough of Taḥin, arriving at ʿIthyanah. Then by Khān to Al-Qāḥah, and by the descent to Al-ʿArj, and through the pass called Thaniyat-al-Aʿyār, coming out to the right hand, and finally descending to Qubā of the Banī ʿAmr ibn ʿAwf; from which he came in to Medina.

From Medina to Najaf, near Mashhad (ʿAlī) on the return journey.—From Medina to Ṭaraf, where there is running water, 35 miles. Thence to Baṭn Nakhl, where rain-water is found, 22 miles. Thence to ʿUsaylah, where there are wells of brackish water, 36 miles. Thence to Maʿdan Nuqrah 46 miles. Total from Medina to Maʿdan Nuqrah 139 miles, which make 46 leagues

<sup>1</sup> Many variants in the MSS. This route is not given by the Arab geographers.

and 1<sup>c</sup> mile. Then from Ma<sup>c</sup>dan Nuqrah on to Najaf it is, as has already been detailed, 148 leagues and 2 miles, which makes a total of 195 leagues (from Medina to Najaf).

From Wāsiṭ to Tha<sup>c</sup>labiyyah, where the (Baghdād) Mecca road is joined<sup>1</sup>.—From Wāsiṭ to Sha<sup>c</sup>sha<sup>c</sup>ah 30 miles, thence to <sup>c</sup>Ayṣī 32 miles, thence to Dhāt-al-<sup>c</sup>Ayn 26 miles, thence to Sha<sup>c</sup>bīyah 26 miles, thence to Akhādīd 30 miles, thence to Kharjā 30 miles, thence to Sūyah 27 miles, thence to Līnah 30 miles, thence to Tha<sup>c</sup>labiyyah 25 miles. Total from Wāsiṭ to Tha<sup>c</sup>labiyyah 256 miles, which make 85 leagues and 1 mile. From Tha<sup>c</sup>labiyyah to Mecca, as already given, it is 164 leagues [۱۷۱] and 2 miles, and these figures together make 250 leagues (for the distance from Wāsiṭ to Mecca).

From Baghdād to various other towns, and first to Baṣrah.—Baghdād 6 leagues to Madāin, thence 8 to Dayr-al-<sup>c</sup>Āqūl, thence 7 to Jabbul, thence 10 to Fam-aṣ-Ṣilḥ, thence 9 to Wāsiṭ, making total of 40 leagues from Baghdād to Wāsiṭ. From Wāsiṭ it is 10 leagues to Nahrabān, thence 8 to Fārūth, thence 5 to Dayr-al-<sup>c</sup>Ummāl, thence 7 to Hawānūt; thence, passing from the river-bed to the Swamps, and on through the Nahr-al-Asad, after a total of 30 leagues distance, is the beginning of the Blind Tigris estuary, by which, and the Nahr Ma<sup>c</sup>qil, after 10 leagues, Baṣrah is reached; making in all from Wāsiṭ to Baṣrah 40 leagues, and from Baghdād 80 leagues.

From Baṣrah to Baḥrayn.—From Baṣrah it is 12 leagues to <sup>c</sup>Abbādān, whence 2 leagues more by fresh water to the open sea; then 70 leagues to the city of Baḥrayn. And on this course there are in the open sea two hidden mountainous reefs below the water level; these are known as <sup>c</sup>Uways and Kusayr. If a ship strikes on the summit of one of these reefs it will be wrecked. Otherwise the depth of the water on this course is from 70 to 80 fathoms. The total distance from Baṣrah to Baḥrayn is 84 leagues.

From Baṣrah to the emporium of Qays.—It is 50 leagues (from Baṣrah) to Khārak Island, thence 80 leagues to Al-Ān Island, thence 7 to Abrūn Island, thence 7 to the island of Chin, which is uninhabited, and thence 7 to the emporium of Qays Island. Total: from Baṣrah to Qays 151 leagues.

From Baghdād to Iṣfahān, the largest of the cities of Persian <sup>c</sup>Irāq.—From Baghdād to Kanguvar it is 75 leagues, as has been detailed above (see pp. 161, 162). Then from Kanguvar it is 5 leagues to Bīdastān, thence 3 to Nihāvand city, thence 4 to Farāmurz village, thence 4 to the city of Burūjird. [۱۷۲] Beyond Burūjird the road to Shāpūrkhawāst turns off to the right hand, while going left from Burūjird it is 4 leagues to Ḥasanābād, thence 8 to Miyān-Rūdān, thence 3 to Minār, thence 6 to the city of Karaj. From

<sup>1</sup> Not given in the Arab geographers, but some stages are mentioned by Yāqūt.

Karaj it is 4 leagues to Dūnsūn, thence 5 to Āsan<sup>1</sup>: here another (the more direct) road to Isfahān turns off to the right, while going left from Āsan it is 6 leagues to Sangān, thence 6 to Jūy-Margh-i-Kuhtar (the Canal of the Smaller Meadow), thence 7 to Ashqurān, thence 7 to Tīrān<sup>2</sup>, thence 6 to Jūy-i-Kūshk, and finally 4 leagues to Isfahān. Total from Karaj to Isfahān it is 45 leagues, from Kanguvar 82 leagues, and from Baghdād 157 leagues<sup>3</sup>.

From Baghdād to Rahbah of Syria.—Baghdād 3 leagues to Tall-<sup>c</sup>Aqarqūf, which is a hillock so high that it can be seen from the desert 15 leagues away, thence 8 leagues to the city of Anbār. Thence by the way across the Samawat desert you may reach Damascus direct in ten days, it being more or less 100 leagues distant. From (Anbār, however, you go) to Rahbah, which last is 170 leagues from Baghdād.

From Baghdād to Mosul, the largest city of Diyar Bakr<sup>4</sup>.—From Baghdād it is 4 leagues to Baradān, thence 5 to <sup>c</sup>Ukbarā, thence 3 to Bāhamshā, thence 7 to Qadisiyah, thence 3 to Sāmarrah. Total, from Baghdād to Sāmarrah 22 leagues. Then from Sāmarrah it is 2 leagues to Karkh, thence 7 to Jabultā, thence 5 to Sudaqaniyah, thence 5 to Barimmā, thence 5 to the Bridge over the Lesser Zab, where it flows into the Tigris, thence 12 to Ḥadithah. This makes a total of 36 leagues from Sāmarrah to Ḥadithah, and from Baghdād [100] it is 58 leagues. From Ḥadithah it is 7 leagues to Banī Tamʿān, and 7 more to Mawṣil (Mosul), making a total of 14 leagues from Ḥadithah to Mosul, while from Sāmarrah it is 50 leagues, and from Baghdād 72 leagues to Mosul.

The Eastern Highroad, from Sulṭāniyyah to the furthest limit of Īrān on the Oxus, being 347 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> [Āsan is probably for Ashan or Āshn, preserved in the name of a fertile plain now called Āshn-ākhar. A. H. S.]

<sup>2</sup> [In modern lists the name is generally spelt Tīhrān, like the capital of Persia, which last in some of the older authorities (e.g. Juvayni) is written Tīrān. A. H. S.]

<sup>3</sup> The road going eastward from Kanguvar to Isfahān, in the Arab Itineraries, follows a different route from the one given by Mustawfī, though both pass by Karaj of Abū Dulaf as it is named for distinction. The MSS. give variants; the name of the village of Farāmuz beyond Nihāvand is written Qaiṭīrīq in some copies, and Hasānābād appears as Junābād. Miyān-Rūdān—'Between Streams'—is on the upper waters of the eastern tributary of the Burujird river, south-east of this town and south-west of Karaj of Abū Dulaf. From Karaj to Isfahān many of the places named are not found on the map, and the variants in the MSS. are Āsan or Māsan; for Sangān, Sitakān or Sakwīn. Ashqurān or Ashghurān is marked on the map and given by Yaḳūt as Ashkūrān; he also mentions Bāb Kūshk as one of the great quarters at the gate of Isfahān, and Jūy-Kūshk 'the Stream by the Kiosk.' Tīrān is a village marked on the map.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the place called Bāhamshā or Bājamshā by Ibn Khurdādhbih, a dozen leagues north of Baghdād, is uncertain; the *Nuzhat* MSS. give the name variously as Jamīʿā, Hamsāsā, and Ilamyā, with other variations. Banī Tamʿān, the last stage before Mosul, is also uncertain; variants are Banī Tahān in the MSS., and in Ibn Khurdādhbih Tamyān, Tahmān, etc., are given.

From Sultāniyyah to Ray and Varāmīn.—From Sultāniyyah in 5 leagues to the village of Quhūd, which the Mongols call Sāin Qal'ah, thence 4 to the city of Abhar, thence 4 to Fārisjīn, thence— with the city of Qazvīn lying 4 leagues distant on the left hand— in 6 leagues to Sūmīqān, which the Mughāls call Āq Khwājah<sup>1</sup>. Beyond this place the way divides; to the right one road turns off, going to Sagzābād, while the main road (towards Khurāsān) continues onward, going through Sunqurābād. From Sūmīqān it is 5 leagues to the village of Mārīn, thence 8 to Dahand<sup>2</sup>, thence 5 to Sunqurābād, thence 5 to Dīh Khātūn, thence 5 to the Place of Martyrdom (Mashhad of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Azīm), thence 3 to the city of Ray, making a total of 50 leagues from Sultāniyyah to Ray. From Ray to Varāmīn it is 6 leagues.

From Varāmīn to Rubāṭ Miḥmān-Dūst.—From Varāmīn it is 6 leagues to the Rubāṭ of Khumārtakīn<sup>3</sup>, thence 6 to Khuvār of Ray, which is called Mahallah-i-Bāgh (the Garden-Place), thence 6 to Dīh Namak (Salt Village), thence 6 to Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head)<sup>4</sup>, thence 6 to Dīh Surkh (Red Village), thence 4 to Samnān; and from Sultāniyyah hither it is 90 leagues. From Samnān it is 7 leagues to Rubāṭ Āhuvān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Hurmuz, also known as Jarm-Jūy (Hot-stream), thence 6 to Dāmghān. Total: from Samnān to Dāmghān 20 leagues, and from Varāmīn 54 leagues, [1v4] and from Sultāniyyah 110 leagues. Then from Dāmghān it is 6 leagues to Haddādah, otherwise known as Miḥmān-Dūst<sup>5</sup> (Guest-friend). From this place one road branches to the right, going direct to Nīshāpūr by Sabzavār; while to the left is the highroad which passes through Jājarm.

From Miḥmān-Dūst to Nīshāpūr by way of Jājarm.—From Haddādah it is 7 leagues to the city of Buṣṭām, from Dāmghān to Buṣṭām it being 13 leagues, from Samnān 33, from Varāmīn

<sup>1</sup> Fārisjīn, Pārsjīn, or Fārsjīn, is now known as Fārsinjī. The name Quhūd is now not known, Sāin Qal'ah having taken its place; the three next stages are found on the map. Sūmīqān, however, is wanting, and apparently is not mentioned by any other geographer; also the reading of the name is uncertain. Ḥamd-Allah mentions it among the villages of Qazvīn (p. 64) and in chapter XIII (p. 140) gives it as the uppermost limit of the Great Desert. In the various MSS. the name appears as Sūmqān, Suwīqān, Sūsqān or Sūshqān, Sūbīqān, Siyūṭīfān, and Sūs'ān. It evidently was a place of some importance, and its position is fixed by the distances given between it, Fārisjīn, Qazvīn, and Sagzābād or Sagzābād, all of which still exist.

<sup>2</sup> The name Mārīn, one stage out from Sūmīqān, is uncertain; the MSS. give various readings, as Yāharah, Māmarah, Mārīn, Hāmīn, and Hāmarah. Also the next stage is variously given as Dīhand, Dīh Pahand, or Sahand. The first name occurs again as one among the villages of Qazvīn mentioned on p. 64. The eastward road from Ray to Balkh and the Oxus is approximately that described by the Arab geographers.

<sup>3</sup> [Modern Ayvān-i-Kayf: Khuvār, Khwār, or Khār is the ancient Choarene. A. H. S.]

<sup>4</sup> Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), which Yāqūt refers to as a Qal'ah or Castle, is possibly identical with the present Lāsīrd. Places named between Jājarm and Nīshāpūr have already been noticed in chapter XIV.

<sup>5</sup> [Haddādah and Miḥmān-Dūst are now two separate villages, standing 10 miles apart. A. H. S.]

67, and from Sultāniyyah 123 leagues. At Bustām the roads divide again, one road leading to Nīshāpūr, while another turns off to Khwārazm. On the road to Nīshāpūr from Bustām it is 7 leagues to Maghz<sup>1</sup>, thence 7 to Sultāniyyah village (or Dih-i-Sultān), thence 3 to Rubāt Savanj, and thence 6 to Jājarm. Total: from Bustām to Jājarm it is 23 leagues, from Dāmghān 36, from Samnān 56, from Varāmīn 90, and from Sultāniyyah 146. From Jājarm it is 8 leagues to the village of Āzadvār, the birthplace of Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Dīvān, thence 4 to Khūrāshāh, thence 3 to Bahrābād village, the abode of Shaykh Sa'd-ad-Dīn of Ḥamāh, thence 5 to Barzātābād, thence 4 to Tūdah (or Nūdah), thence 8 to Tāqān-Kūh, thence 6 to Rubāt Būzinagān at the village of Ahmadābād, and thence 4 leagues in to Nīshāpūr. Total: from Jājarm to Nīshāpūr it is 42 leagues, from Bustām 65, from Dāmghān 78, from Varāmīn 132, and from Sultāniyyah 188 leagues.

From Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs.—From Nīshāpūr it is 7 leagues to Dih Bād, [۱۷۰] whence the road to Herāt branches to the right hand: and from Dih Bād, turning left, it is 5 leagues to Khā-kistar village, thence 3 to Rubāt Sangbast, thence 6 to Rubāt Mahi, thence 7 to Rubāt Tūrān (or Nūrān); thence in 7 leagues, across two passes each of half a league, you go to Rubāt Abgīnah, thence in 6 leagues you come to the city of Sarakhs. Total from Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs 41 leagues.

From Sarakhs by the road through Balkh to the Oxus, on the furthest limit of Īrān.—From Sarakhs it is 9 leagues to Rubāt Ja'fari, thence 7 to Mīl 'Omari, thence 7 to Rubāt Abū Nu'aym, thence 5 leagues across the desert sands with no water to Āb-i-Shūr, thence 2 to Diz Hind, and thence 5 to the city of Marv-ar-Rūd. Total: from Sarakhs to the city of Marv-ar-Rūd it is 35 leagues, from Nīshāpūr 76, from Dāmghān 154, from Varāmīn 208, and from Sultāniyyah 264 leagues.

From Marv-ar-Rūd it is 7 leagues to Rubat-i-Sultān, thence 5 to the village of Kūchābād: the city of Tāliqān lying 6 leagues distant on the right hand of the road. From Kūchābād it is 7 leagues to Āb-i-Garm (Hot Spring), thence 5 to Kabūtar-khānah, thence 7 to Masjid Rāzān, thence in 7 leagues—the city of Fāryāb lying 2 leagues distant on the right of the road—to Astānah, thence 6 to Rubāt Ka'b, thence 9 leagues across a waterless plain to the city of Shubūrqān, thence it is 2 leagues to the village of Sulbarān, thence 9 to Rubāt 'Alawī (the Alid Guardhouse), thence 1 league to Dastagird, thence 5 to the hamlet at [۱۷۱] the Bridge of Jamūkhiyān, thence 2 leagues in to the city of Balkh. Total: from Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh it is 72 leagues, from Sarakhs 107 leagues, from Nīshāpūr 147, from Dāmghān 225, from Varāmīn 279, and from Sultāniyyah 335 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> Called Umm-al-Jawz, 'Mother of Nuts,' by Yāqūt. *Maghz* is a nut-kernel, in Persian.

From the city of Balkh it is 6 leagues to Siyah-Kūh (the Black Hill), and thence in 6 leagues you come to the Oxus river over against Tirmid: making a total from Balkh to the Oxus of 12 leagues: while from Marv-ar-Rūd it is 84 leagues, from Sarakhs 119, from Nishāpūr—by this road—159, from Dāmghān 237, and from Sulṭāniyyah to the Oxus 347 leagues.

From Bustām to Khwārazm (Urganj) by way of Jurjan and Dihistān.—From Bustām by the pass called Nardibān-Pāyah it is 7 leagues to Dih Ganj, thence 6 to the village of Milābād, thence 5 to Mūsā-ābād village, thence 5 to the city of Jurjān. Total: from Bustām to Jurjān 23 leagues, from Dāmghān 36, from Varāmīn 90, and from Sulṭāniyyah 146 leagues. From Jurjān there are two roads to the (northern) frontier—one direct by the waterless desert, the other by Dihistān. By this last from Jurjān it is 9 leagues to Bāraz Rūd, thence 7 to the village of Muḥammadābād, thence 7 to Dihistān<sup>1</sup>. Total: from Jurjān to Dihistān 23 leagues, from Dāmghān 59, from Varāmīn 113, and from Sulṭāniyyah 169 leagues.

From Dihistān going across the Desert it is 7 leagues to Rubāt [۱۷۷] Gazbīnī (or Kursī), thence 9 to Rubāt Abū-l-Abbās thence 7 to Rubāt Ibn Ṭāhir, and thence 7 to the city of Farāvah<sup>2</sup>. From Farāvah it is 8 leagues to Rubāt Khisht-i-Pukhtah, thence 8 to Khūshāb Dān, thence 7 to Rubāt Ṭaghmaj, thence 7 to Kārvān-gāh, thence 9 to Rubāt Sarhang, thence 7 to Minārāh-gāh, thence 8 to Sail-Balī, thence 7 to Mushk Mabnā, thence 9 to Rubāt Maryam, thence 8 to the town of New Khwārazm, thence 6 to New Hālam (or Khulm), and thence 4 leagues to Urganj, the capital of Khwārazm<sup>3</sup>. Total: from Dihistān to Urganj 110 leagues, from Jurjān 133, from Dāmghān 169, from Varāmīn 223, and from Sulṭāniyyah 279 leagues.

Nishāpūr to Herāt.—From Nishāpūr in 7 leagues to Dih-Bād<sup>4</sup>, where the road to Sarakhs already given (p. 169) goes off to the

<sup>1</sup> Neither this nor the next route is found in the Arab Itineraries. The MSS. give many variants for the intermediate stages, which in the desert were mostly Rubāts or Guardhouses. For the part north of Jurjān city Sir II. C. Rawlinson may be consulted in the *Proceedings of the R. Geog. Soc.*, 1879 (1: 170), and for Bāraz Rūd (River), which the MSS. give variously as Sārar, Bistān, Sār-rūd, and Sārd-rūd, he adopts the reading Sinābar-rūd, 'a name restored to agree with the modern Sunibar.'

<sup>2</sup> Farāvah, a place frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably to be identified with the modern Qizil Arvāt, this last being a corruption for Qizil-Rubāt, 'the Red Guardhouse.'

<sup>3</sup> The stages of this desert road to Urganj, the city which the Arabs knew as Jurjāniyyah, are given with a variety of readings in the MSS. The variants, however, are of no great importance, since the stages merely represent halting-places, not towns or villages. Khwārazm-i-Naw—New Khwārazm—must be the capital of the province built to replace the town destroyed by the Mongols, and the ruins of *New* Khwārazm are now known as *Old* Urganj—Kuhnah Urganj; but what the place which Mustawfī calls Hālam or Khulm-i-Naw may represent—lying between the new and the old capital of his time—it is difficult to determine.

<sup>4</sup> Dih-Bād—'the windy village'—is the place named in the Arab Itineraries Qaşr-ar-Rih, which has a similar signification; it is now called Dizbād-Pāyin.



left. From Dih-Bād it is 5 leagues to Rubāṭ Badi<sup>ci</sup>, thence 7 to Farhādān village, thence 7 to Sa'īdābād village, thence 5 to Dih Khusraw, thence 7 to the city of Pūchkān (or Būzjān)<sup>1</sup>. Total, from Nishāpūr to Pūchkān it is 38 leagues; and from here roads go off to Herāt, Qāyin, Bākharz and Sarakhs. On the Herāt road it is, from Pūchkān, 6 leagues to Gulābād village, thence 10 to Kūshk Mansūr, thence 6 to the city of Pūshanj (or Būshanj), and thence 8 leagues to Herāt [۱۷۸] Total: from Pūchkān to Herāt it is 30 leagues, from Nishāpūr 68, from Dāmghān to Herāt by the road already detailed it is 146 leagues, from Varāmīn to Herāt 200, and from Sultāniyyah 256 leagues.

Nishāpūr to Turshīz and Quhistān<sup>2</sup>.—From Nishāpūr it is 5 leagues to Rubāṭ Sih Dih (Guardhouse of the Three Villages), thence 4 to Rubāṭ Nūr-Khān, thence 3 to Chāh Siyāh (Black Pit), thence 5 to the village of Dāyah, and this stage goes through a populous, well-watered country, where are eight villages; thence 4 to Dih Murd, and thence 7 leagues to Turshīz. Total from Nishāpūr to Turshīz it is 28 leagues; then from Turshīz it is 25 leagues to Tūn, and 36 to Qāyin, and likewise 36 to Pūchkān.

Herāt to (Zaranj, the capital of) Sistān<sup>3</sup>.—Herāt one march to Jāmān, thence the same to Kūh-i-Siyāh (Black Hill), thence the same to Qanāt Sarāy, thence the same to Khāstān (or Jāstān), which is a dependency of Asfuzār, thence the same to Kūstān, thence the same to Darah, thence the same to the city of Farah, thence the same to Pūl-i-Rūd-i-Farah (Bridge over the Farah river), thence the same to Sirishk, thence the same to Kanjar, thence the same to Bust, thence the same to Juvayn, thence the same to Bashtar, thence in 4 leagues you come to, and cross, the Hirmand river to Karkūyah, and thence in 3 leagues to (Zaranj, capital of) Sistān. Total from Herat to Zaranj it is 15 marches, which by Ibn Khurdādbih is given as equivalent to 80 leagues; other authorities, however, give it as only 60 leagues' march from Herāt to Zaranj.

Herāt to Marv.—From Herāt [۱۷۹] it is 5 leagues to Sagābād, thence 5 to Bādghish, thence 5 to Bavvan, thence 5 to Marghzār Darrah, thence 8 to Bāghchī Shūr, thence 5 to Lūs-rūd, thence 4 leagues to Marv-ar-Rūd<sup>4</sup>. Total from Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd it

<sup>1</sup> The city of Būjkān, or Būzjān, also written in two words Pūch-Kān, is by the Arab geographers called Zam or Jām, and is now known as Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jām, from the tomb of the Saint buried here. Pūshanj or Būshanj is the modern Ghūziyān, but when the town took this last name appears to be unknown.

<sup>2</sup> This route has been copied by the *Jihān-Numā*. None of the villages mentioned appears now to exist; their names are not found in the Arab Itineraries; and further, the readings of the MSS. are uncertain. The first stage out is often given as Rubāṭ Sayyidī Aḥmad, 'Omar, or Ghar. Dih Dāyah appears as Dānah, Dār, or Vānah; Dih Murd as Nīnir, Nimrud, 'Umrad, or Bamrū, also as Dih Ghar.

<sup>3</sup> This route is practically identical with the road described by Muqaddasī and in other Arab Itineraries.

<sup>4</sup> The route from Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Muḡhāb), is copied into the *Jihān-Numā*. It lies through a country where now there are no towns and hardly any villages, though in the Middle Ages Bādghish was a populous province.

is 37 leagues. Then from Marv-ar-Rūd it is 5 leagues to Qaṣr Aḥnaf ibn Qays, thence 4 to Khawrāt (Khawrzān or Khūrāb), thence 6 to Asadābād (or Astarābād), thence 7 to Qarīnayn, thence 5 to Yaḥyā-ābād, thence 7 to Mahdī-ābād, thence 6 to Fāz, and thence 7 leagues to the city of Marv<sup>1</sup>. Total from Marv-ar-Rūd to Marv 47 leagues, and from Herāt 84 leagues.

From Marv to Balkh.—From Marv to Marv-ar-Rūd it is 47 leagues by the road that has just been described. Then from Marv-ar-Rūd it is 5 leagues to Araskan, thence 7 to Aṣrāb, thence 6 to Ganjābād, thence 6 to Ṭāliqān, thence 5 to Kaṣhān, thence 5 to Arghūn in the district of Jūzjān, thence 5 to Qaṣr Hūt, also in the district of Jūzjān, thence 5 to Fāryāb, thence 9 to Qāh, thence 9 to Shubūrquān, thence 6 to Ṣidrah, thence 5 to Dastagīr, thence 4 to ʿAwd, and thence it is 3 leagues to Balkh<sup>2</sup>. Total from Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh is 80 leagues, while from Marv it is 127 leagues.

Marv to (Urganj, the capital of) Khwārazm.—Marv in 5 leagues to Dih Saqrī, thence 2 to Dih ʿAbdān Ganj, thence 8 to Rubāṭ Sūrān, [۱۸۰] thence 5 to Chāh Khāk (Dry Well), thence 7 to Chāh Ṣaḥī, thence 7 to Chāh Hārūn; thence in 7 leagues—of which 2000 paces are across the Moving Sands—to Rubāt-i-Naw-Shāgird, thence 7 to Sagabād, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Ṭāhīrī, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Būclīnah, thence crossing the frontier of Khwārazm in 9 leagues to the city of Jaqarband, thence 7 to Darghān, a city of Khwārazm, thence 5 to Dahān-i-Shīr (the Guardhouse of the Lion's Mouth), where precipitous rocks form the Narrows of the Oxus, which rushes through between them; thence 4 to Sadūr, thence 10 to Hazārasp city, thence 9 to Dih Azraq, thence 7 to Rakhushmīthan, thence 6 to Andarāstān, thence 2 to the city of Nuzvār, and thence in 6 leagues to the city of Urganj, the capital of Khwārazm<sup>3</sup>. Total, from Marv to Khwārazm by this road it is 124 leagues.

The Northern Highroad, from Sulṭāniyyah to Bāb-al-Abwāb<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Marv-ar-Rūd to Great Marv the route is that of the Arab geographers, and follows the course of the river Murghāb. Qaṣr Aḥnaf is the present Marūchak or Marv-i-Kuchik (Little Marv), and was a castle or palace built by Aḥnaf, son of Qays, the Arab leader in the first Moslem conquest of Khurāsān. The stages named are not those now found on the map.

<sup>2</sup> This is an alternative route to that printed above, p. 169, between Marv-ar-Rūd and Balkh. It is given in the Arab Itineraries and with the other it enables us to fix within narrow limits the positions of Ṭāliqān and Fāryāb, two important towns of the Jūzjān District, neither of which is now found on the map.

<sup>3</sup> This route is given the reverse way in the *Jihān-Numā*. The first portion across the desert is not found in any of the earlier Arab geographers, and the names of the stages here are many of them uncertain. Cultivation began at Rubāt Ṭāhīrī, or Ṭāhīriyyah, on the Oxus, the first place in Khwārazm. This is mentioned by the Arab geographers, who name many of the stages given after this in their notices of the Khwārazm province; as also the 'Narrows of the Camel's Neck,' or 'of the Lion's Mouth.' For the names of the stages between Hazārasp and Urganj see Muqaddasī.

<sup>4</sup> The stages beyond the Aras river and Qarābāgh are not given.

(Gate of Gates), on the furthest frontier of Īrān: and Bāb-al-Abwāb the Mongols call Dimūr Qāpī (the Iron Gate, otherwise Darband).

Sultāniyyah to Ardabīl — Sultāniyyah in 5 leagues to Zanjān; from here one road goes off to Tabriz, Marāghah, Armenia and Rūm (Asia Minor), while another road turns off to Ardabīl and Sarāv. By the Ardabīl road you go in 7 leagues to the village of Tūt (or Būb) Suvārī, thence 7 to the city of Kāghadh Kunān, thence by the Pass of Burūlāz on the river Safid-Rūd in 6 leagues to the villages of Sanjīdah and Khalkhāl, thence 6 to the village of Tālīsh, and then 6 to the city of Ardabīl<sup>1</sup>. [۱۸۱] Total from Sultāniyyah to Ardabīl 37 leagues.

From Ardabīl to Qarābāgh of Arrān.—From Ardabīl it is 8 leagues to Rubāt Arshad, thence 8 to the village of Varanq. To the left hand, and to the westward<sup>2</sup>, one league distant, lies Barzand, formerly a city, now a mere village; and thence it is 4 leagues on to Bājarvān, formerly a city, now only a village<sup>3</sup>. Total: from Ardabīl to Bājarvān it is 20 leagues, and from Sultāniyyah 57 leagues. From Bājarvān to Mahmūdābād of Gāvbārī, the road goes after this wise. Bājarvān in 8 leagues to Pilsuvār, thence 6 to Jūy-i-Naw (New Canal), and thence 6 to Mahmūdābād Gāvbārī. Total: from Bājarvān to Mahmūdābād 20 leagues, from Ardabīl 40 leagues, and from Sultāniyyah 77 leagues.

The Qarābāgh Road.—From Bājarvān it is 7 leagues to the village of ʿAlī Beg, thence 6 to the village of Bakrābād, and thence 2 to the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Qarābāgh. Total: from Bājarvān to Qarābāgh 15 leagues, from Ardabīl 35, and from Sultāniyyah 72 leagues.

From Qarābāgh to Ganjah.—From Qarābāgh to the village of Har it is 3 leagues, thence 5 to Gharq, thence 4 to the village of Labandān, thence 3 to Bāzarchūq, thence 4 to the city of Bardā<sup>c</sup>, thence 1 to the city of Jūzbīq, thence 4 to Dih Iṣfahānī, thence 5 to Khānqāh Shutur, and thence 5 to Ganjah city. Total: from Qarābāgh to Ganjah 34 leagues, from Ardabīl 69, and from Sultāniyyah it is 106 leagues. From Ganjah it is 2 leagues to the city of Shamkūr, now in ruins, thence 3 to Yūrt-Shādāq-Bān, [۱۸۵] thence 6 to the Aqtavān river, thence 5 to Yām, and

<sup>1</sup> This route is found in the *Jihān-Numā*, but in the reverse way; the Arab Itineraries do not give it. Hereby is fixed the position of Kāghadh-Kunān on Khūnaj, already mentioned (p. 70), which was a mint-city. The name of the pass near the Safid-Rūd is doubtful; it is variously written in the MSS as Ghīvāh-i-Pardahlis, Buzurgtai, or Barūlah. The Sanjīdah is a river mentioned among the affluents flowing into the Safid-Rūd.

<sup>2</sup> [Read South-westward. A. II. S.]

<sup>3</sup> The ruins of Barzand exist, and these fix the position of Bājarvān; for Arshad some MSS. give Arand; and for Varanq the variants are Varlaq, Dhariq, Dartaq, with other readings.

thence 4 leagues to the city of Tiflis<sup>1</sup>. Total: Ganjah to Tiflis 20 leagues, from Qarābāgh 54, from Ardabil 89, while from Sultāniyyah it is 126 leagues.

From Qarābāgh to Tabrīz, by way of Āhar.—From the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Qarābāgh, to Bājarvān it is, as has already been said, 15 leagues. Thence it is 4 leagues to Barzand, thence 6 to Rubāt-i-Ayvān, built by the Vazīr Khwājah Tāj-ad-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh Tabrīzī, thence 8 to the village of Bahlatān<sup>2</sup>, known as the village of the Ṣāhib Dīvān, thence in 8 leagues, passing the Rubāt (Guardhouse) built by the Vazīr ‘Alī Shāh aforesaid, standing in the valley called Darrah Farūjāy, to the city of Āhar; thence in 6 leagues by the Pass of Gūkchah-Mīl (the Blue Pillar), in which stand two Guardhouses—one the Rubāt built by Khwājah Sa‘d-ad-Dīn of Sāvah, the other by Amīr Nizām-ad-Dīn Yahyā of Sāvah—to the village of Armīnān (or Arminiyyān); and thence, passing another Rubāt built by the Vazīr ‘Alī Shāh aforesaid at the stage of Yaldūq (or Baldūq), it is 8 leagues into Tabrīz<sup>3</sup>. Total, from Qarābāgh to Tabrīz it is 55 leagues.

The Western Highroad.—From Sultāniyyah to Qūniyyah of Rūm (Asia Minor) at the furthest frontier of Īrān it is 301 leagues.

Sultāniyyah to Tabrīz.—Sultāniyyah in 5 leagues to Zanjān, thence 6 to Rubāt Nikbāy built by the Vazīr Khwājah, Tāj-ad-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh, thence 7 leagues to Sarcham; in this stage a Rubāt has been built by the Vazīr Khwājah Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Amīr Muḥammad Rashīdī, and another Rubāt has been built here by [۱۸۴] his brother Khwājah Jalāl-ad-Dīn. Total (from Sultāniyyah to Sarcham), 18 leagues. From this stage a road goes off to the left to Marāghah, while the road to the right leads to Miyānij. From Sarcham, by the pass it is 6 leagues to Miyānij, thence 6 to the village of Turkmān Kandī called Dayr Kharrān, which formerly was a city, thence 4 to the village of Sankalābād, thence 4 to the city of Ūjān, thence 4 by a pass

<sup>1</sup> Not given in the Arab Itineraries. On this road to Tiflis, Bardā‘ and Ganjah exist, also Shamkūr, but for the intermediate stages the MSS. give a variety of readings. Gharq is given as Farq, Kūra‘, Qirq, or Tūnaq. Labandān appears as Dih Shuturān, or Katrān; and the next stage may be read Darhūq. For Jūzbīq we get Jūzīnaq, Khūranq, or Ilūrish; and the name Shādāq is given as Sadmīyān or Sūriqi-yān; finally, Yām may be read Bām or Māmdam.

<sup>2</sup> [Read probably Baylaqān. A. H. S.]

<sup>3</sup> ‘Alī Shāh and Sa‘d-ad-Dīn were the famous Vazīrs of Ghāzān Khān. For Bahlatān the variants are Baylaqān, Dih Sultān, and Sahlaqān, with other readings. The name of the valley called Farūjāy is in some MSS. given as Qudjāy or Qarūjāy; Gūkchah Mīl appears as Gūlchah Nīl, Kūkjay or Kavīlah Nīl, while Armīnān or Arminiyyān has the variants Aranmiyyān or Larsān. Apparently none of these places is marked on our maps. This route, in the reverse way, is given by the *Jihān-Numā*, and in Section 3, on Rivers (see below), Mustawfī mentions many of these places when describing the course of the Āhar river. This and the following routes westward are wanting in the Arab Itineraries.

to Saʿīdābād, and thence in 4 leagues to the city of Tabrīz. Total from Sultāniyyah to Tabrīz 46 leagues.

Tabrīz to Arzan-ar-Rūm.—From Tabrīz it is 11 leagues to Marand, thence 12 to Khuvī (Khoi), thence 6 to Shakhmābād, thence 5 to Naw-Shahr (New-Town), thence 3 to Band-i-Māhī, thence 8 to Arjīsh, thence 8 to Malāzjird, thence 10 to Khanūs, thence 5 to the Pass of Āq Aftan, thence 5 to Basīn, thence 6 leagues to Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum). Total (from Tabrīz to Arzan-ar-Rūm) 79 leagues.

From Arzan-ar-Rūm to Arzanjān.—From Arzan-ar-Rūm it is 10 leagues to Asjah of the district of Vasirjān, thence 10 to Khūmān Qubūḥ at the foot of the pass, thence 4 to Arzanjān. Total: from Arzan-ar-Rūm to Arzanjān 24 leagues, and from Tabrīz by the winter road (just described) it is 103 leagues, and from Sultāniyyah it is 149 leagues.

From Arzanjān to Sīvās.—From Arzanjān it is 5 leagues to the village of Khwājah Aḥmad, thence 7 to Arzanjak, thence 8 to Āq-Shahr, thence 5 to Akarsūk, [۱۸۴] thence 8 to Zārah, thence 10 to Rubāt Khwājah Aḥmad, and thence it is 4 leagues to Sīvās<sup>1</sup>. Total: from Arzanjān to Sīvās is 47 leagues, from Arzan-ar-Rūm 71 leagues, from Tabrīz 150, and from Sultāniyyah 196 leagues.

The Highroad going diagonally, south-east from Sultāniyyah to Qays (Island) at the frontier of Irān: distance in total 254 leagues.

Sultāniyyah to Sāvah.—From Sultāniyyah to the village of Sagzābād as already described (p. 168) it is 5 stages, or 24 leagues, and here the highroad towards Khurāsān branches off. From Sagzābād it is 6 leagues to Rubāt Hājib Ḥasan, thence 7 to Rubāt Dawānīq, thence 5 to the city of Sāvah. Total from Sultāniyyah to Sāvah 42 leagues; and Sāvah stands at the beginning of many roads.

Sāvah to Kāshān.—From Sāvah it is 4 leagues to Āvah, thence 6 to Qum, thence 12 to Kāshān. Total, from Sāvah to Kāshān it is 22 leagues.

From Kāshān to Isfahān.—From Kāshān it is 8 leagues to the village of Quhrūd, thence 6 to the village of Wāsīṭah, thence it is 6 leagues to the Rubāt (Guardhouse) of Mūrchaḥ Khūrd, and 8 on to the village of Sīn: or else from Wāsīṭah it is 12 leagues direct to Sīn by the Miyānī Road, but on this way there are no habitations; and from the village of Sīn it is 4 leagues to Isfahān city. Total: from Kāshān to Isfahān 32 leagues, from Sāvah 54, and from Sultāniyyah it is 96 leagues.

Isfahān to Yazdikhwāst.—Isfahān in 3 leagues to the village of Isfahānak, thence 5 to [۱۸۰] the village of Mahyār on the frontier of Fārs, thence 6 to Qūmīshah city; total from Isfahān to Qūmīshah

<sup>1</sup> The stages on from Sīvās to Qūmīyah are not given.

14 leagues. From Qūmishah it is 5 leagues to the village of Rūd-kān<sup>1</sup>, and thence 7 to Yazdikhwāst village. Total: from Qūmishah to Yazdikhwāst 12 leagues, and from Isfahān 26 leagues. From Yazdikhwāst the winter road down to Band-i-ʿAḍudī turns off to the left, while the (shorter, western, or) summer road is to the right, by Kūshk-i-Zard.

From Yazdikhwāst by the summer road to Shīrāz.—From Yazdikhwāst in 8 leagues to Dih Girdū, thence 7 to Kūshk-i-Zard, thence 5 by the Girīvah-i-Mādar wa Dukhtar (Mother and Daughter Pass) to the Rubāṭ of Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn in the plain called Dasht Rūn, thence 3 to the Guardhouse at the Bridge (over the upper Kur river, near Ūjān) called Pūl-i-Shahriyār, thence 7 leagues through the very stony Pass of Māyin to the town of Māyin, and all the roads leading to Māyin are very stony. Thence in 4 leagues—passing by the Castles of Iṣṭakhr and Shikastah, which overhang the road on the left hand—to Pūl-i-Naw (New Bridge, over the Kur), thence 5 to Dih Gurg (Wolf Village), and thence in 5 leagues to the city of Shīrāz. Total: from Yazdikhwāst to Shīrāz 44 leagues, from Qūmishah 56, from Isfahān 70, from Kāshān 102 leagues, and from Sulṭāniyyah 166 leagues.

Shīrāz to (the Island of) Qays on the frontier of Īrān.—Shīrāz 5 leagues to Shahrak village, thence 5 to the city of Kavār, thence by the Girīvah-i-Zanjirān (Pass of Chains), leaving Firūzābād 7 leagues distant away to the right hand, in 5 leagues to Rubāṭ Jamkān, thence 5 to Maymand, thence 6 to the beginning of the Ṣimkān District, [۱۸۶] thence 6 to the end of this District, thence in 7 leagues to Kārzīn by the Pass of Sar-i-Safīd (the White Head), thence it is 5 leagues to Lāghir, thence 6 to the Fāryāb District, thence 6 to the city of Khunj, thence 5 to Āb-Anbār-i-Kinār, thence 5 to Hurmuz, thence in 6 leagues by many steep passes to the village of Dārūk, thence 6 to Māhān, thence in 6 leagues by the Pass of Lardak to Hūzū on the sea-shore. From here you cross the water in 4 leagues to the city of Qays (on the island of that name)<sup>2</sup>. Total: from the city of Shīrāz to Qays 88 leagues, from Isfahān 158

<sup>1</sup> Reading uncertain, many variants. No place of this name exists, but it must have stood half-way between the present villages of Maḡsūd Begī and Amānābād, the latter known anciently by the name of Barak.

<sup>2</sup> From Shīrāz to Kārzīn and Lāghir this road may be followed on the map. Shahrak (with variants) is probably the present village of Kafr, or Kafri (given as Kafrah in *Fiṛs Nāmah*, 886). The 'Pass of Chains' lies near Zanjirān, the chief town of the modern district of Khwājah, lying to the north of Firūzābād. Maymand exists, and Jamkān (with many variants) is probably the present village of Jūh-Kān. South of Lāghir, to Hūzū on the coast (given by the Arab geographers as the port for Qays Island and city), the route is found in no other authority, and, apparently, has not been followed by any traveller in modern times. Variants are numerous. The town of Khunj, anciently written Khung, lies some 8 leagues S.E. of Lāghir, but the name of the Fāryāb District is now unknown. Hurmuz is a village about 5 leagues to the S.W. of Lār. Dārūk and Māhān (with many variants) cannot be identified. Hūzū opposite Qays Island is probably identical with the present Chūū.

leagues, from Kāshān 190, from Sāvah 212 leagues, and from Sulṭāniyyah 254 leagues.

Remainder of the (sea) journey in this direction: from Qays to Sarandīb (Ceylon) where Adam fell (to earth from Paradise).—From Qays (island) it is 18 leagues to the Island of Abarkāfān, thence 7 to the Island of Urmūš, thence in 70 leagues you come to the Island of Bār on the frontier between Fārs and Sind, and thence it is 80 to Daybul; this lies 2 leagues from the mouth of the Mihrān (Indus), which is the great river of Sind. Thence it is 40 leagues to Ankīr (or Utakīn), where begins the kingdom of Hind (India), thence 2 leagues to Kūlī, thence 18 to Sindān, thence 50 leagues to Malībar, thence 20 to Ballīn. From Ballīn you cross a great arm (of the sea), and in 10 leagues reach Ceylon<sup>1</sup>. Total: from Qays to Ceylon 317 leagues, [187] from Shīrāz 405, from Iṣfahān 475, from Kāshān 507, from Sāvah 529, and from Sulṭāniyyah 571 leagues.

Shīrāz to Kāzirūn.—Shīrāz in 5 leagues to the Wall of Ḥājji Qiwām, thence 8 to Dasht Arzin village, thence 6 to the Rubāt (Guardhouse) at the head of the Mālān Pass, which is very steep, thence by the Hūshanak Pass, also very steep, in 3 leagues to Kāzirūn city<sup>2</sup>. Total from Shīrāz to Kāzirūn 22 leagues.

Shīrāz to Hurmūz.—Shīrāz in 12 leagues to Sarvistān, thence 8 to the city of Fasā, thence 6 to Tīmaristān village, thence 8 to Dārkān (or Zārkān). From here turning to the left the road goes to (the capital of) Shabānkārah; while turning to the right the road goes on to Hurmūz, and from Shīrāz to Dārkān it is 34 leagues. From Dārkān it is 10 leagues to Dārābgird, thence 3 to the village of Khayr, thence 6 to Shabankān, thence 3 to Rustāq, and thence 3 leagues to Burk (Purg or Forg); from here it is 6 leagues to Tāshlū, thence 6 to Tārum, thence to the frontier of the Lār Province at Janād (or Chinār) it is 4 leagues, thence 48 to Chāh Chil, thence 8 to Tūsar on the sea-coast, whence by water it is 4 leagues to the Island of Hurmūz<sup>3</sup>. Total from Shīrāz to Hurmūz it is 95 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> For this route see Ibn Khurdādhbih, Translation, p. 42. Urmūš is a variant of Hurmūz.

<sup>2</sup> [The distances should be interchanged, Dasht Arzin 3 leagues to the top of the Pass, and 6 on to Kāzirūn. The Mālān is now known as the Kūtal-i-Pir-i-Zan (the Old Woman's Pass), and the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar (the Maiden's Pass) represents that of Hūshanak. The name Mālān is now unknown here, but under the form Mālū is given to a steep pass between Kāzirūn and Būshahr. Hūshanak or Hawshanak is still used by the villagers of the neighbourhood as an alternative name for the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar. The French traveller Thévenot, who crossed the pass on the 20th September, 1666, gives the name in his *Voyages* as Ouschanac, and he states that the mother of Imām Qulī Khān (the governor of Fārs in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I) had had the roadway paved, and furnished with parapets, to prevent travellers from falling over the precipice. A. H. S.]

<sup>3</sup> The places along this route have been for the most part noticed in chapters XI, XII, and XIII. Tāshlū or Tāshkū beyond Forg is mentioned by Dupré (*Voyages en Perse*, II. 489); it is now written Tāshkat. Tūsar, the port on the Persian Gulf, whence the

Shīrāz to (the capital of) Shabānkārah.—From Shīrāz to Dārkān it is, as already said, 34 leagues, and thence to the city of Īg, which is the capital of Shabānkārah, it is 4 leagues; [۱۸۸] making a total of 38 leagues.

Shīrāz to Kirmān by way of Shahr-i-Bābak.—Shīrāz in 8 leagues to Dāriyān, thence 8 to Khurramah, thence 4 to Khūlanjān, thence 6 to Kand (or Kid), thence 6 to Khayrah, thence 5 to Chāh 'Uqbah, thence 8 to Bulangān, thence 8 to Chāhak, thence 7 to Sarūshak, thence in 7 leagues to Shahr-i-Bābak. Total from Shīrāz to Shahr-i-Bābak 67 leagues. Shahr-i-Bābak in 8 leagues to Kūshk Na'm, thence 4 to Abān, thence 4 to the city of Sīrjān, making a total of 16 leagues from Shahr-i-Bābak to Sīrjān, and from Shīrāz 83 leagues. From Sīrjān it is 10 leagues to Bakān (or Lakān) and thence 8 on to Kirmān (City), making a total of 101 leagues from Shīrāz to Kirmān<sup>1</sup>.

Shīrāz to Abarqūh.—Shīrāz in 5 leagues to the village of Zargān, thence 3 to the dam called Band-i-Amīr on the Kur river, thence 3 to the village of Kinārah in the districts of Hafrak and Marvdasht, thence 3 to Fārūq, thence 3 to Kamīn, thence 4 to Mashhad-i-Mādar-i-Sulaymān (Shrine of the Mother of Solomon, namely, the Tomb of Cyrus), thence 6 to Rubāṭ Mashk, thence 12 to the city of Abarqūh. Total from Shīrāz to Abarqūh 39 leagues.

Abarqūh to Yazd.—From Abarqūh in 13 leagues to Dih Shīr (Lion Village), thence 6 to Dih Jawz (Nut village), thence 4 to Qal'at-i-Majūs (Magian's Castle), thence in 5 leagues to the city of Kathah or Yazd, standing in its Jūmah (District, modern

crossing is made to Hurmūz, is probably a misreading for Sūnū, or Chīrū as the place is still called: it is the harbour named Shahrū by Iṣṭakhrī, and Sārū by Ibn Ḥawqal. Near here lay Gombrōon, which is written Gumrū in the *Jihān-Numā*; and this last is generally held to have been a corruption of Gumruk, the Turkish word for 'Custom-house' (from the Greek *κομμερκί*), a name which has come into common use all over the East. [The Byzantine *κομμερκί* is a Greek rendering of the Latin *commercium*, as is apparent from certain treaties which the Genoese made with the Constantinople Emperors; but the name of the port was not Gumrū, but Kumbrū or Gumbarū, as appears from the text of the *Ālam-arūī 'Abbāsī*. Further, Pietro della Valle, who was here in the later months of 1622, and shortly after the expulsion of the Portuguese by the Persians, writes 'Combru, now changed to Bandar 'Abbāsi.' In Portuguese the name figures as Cambarão, and Comorão. A. II. S.]

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of this road is by the southern side of Bakhtigān Lake. It then joins the route coming along the north shore of Bakhtigān to Bulangān, the Arab Būdanjān, now called Dih Mūrd; and thence goes to the town of Great Šāhik, given in all the Arab Itineraries. The present village of Chāhak represents this place; and Great Šāhik was a city of some importance in the Middle Ages, where the road from Persepolis to Kirmān—along the northern shore of Lake Bakhtigān by Abādah City—joined the route here given coming from Shīrāz. Kand (or Kid), lying on the southern shore of Bakhtigān, is the present Khānah Kat, 8 leagues west of Khurramah, but Khūlanjān is unknown. Chāh 'Uqbah is probably Dih Chāh, 4 leagues north of Nayūz, and at the eastern end of Bakhtigān. Sarūshak (equivalent to Rādhān of the *Fārs Nūmah*, p. 30) is unknown; as also Kūshk Na'm and Bakān. For the reading Shahr-i-Bābak nearly all of the MSS. give Shahr-i-Atābeg, which possibly may have been the name of this place in the fourteenth century, though apparently not so given by any other authority.



Hūmah)<sup>1</sup>. Total: from Abarqūh to [۱۸۹] Yazd 28 leagues, and from Shīrāz 67 leagues. From Yazd on to Kirmān (City) it is 58 leagues, and from Shīrāz to Kirmān, by this road, it is 125 leagues.

Shīrāz to Nawbanjān.—Shīrāz in 5 leagues to Juvaym, thence 5 to Khullār, thence 5 to Kharrārah, thence 4 to (Dih) Gawz (Nut Village), which is of the district of Tīr Murdān, thence 3 to Kuzgān, thence 3 to Nawbanjān. Total from Shīrāz to Nawbanjān 25 leagues<sup>2</sup>.

Nawbanjān to Tustar, the capital of Khūzistān.—From Nawbanjān it is 4 leagues to Khābdān, thence 6 to Kishish, thence 5 to Gunbad Mallaghān, thence 4 to Chāhah, thence 4 to Khabs, thence 6 to Furzuk, thence 4 to Arrajān, and 4 leagues on to Bustānak, which is the frontier between Fārs and Khūzistān<sup>3</sup>. Total, from Nawbanjān to Bustānak 37 leagues, and from Shīrāz 62 leagues.

The Highroad to the South-west.—From Sultāniyyah to the castle called Qal'ah Bīrah<sup>4</sup>, which is at the frontier of Īrān, it is 265 leagues: and Allah alone is all knowing of the Ways.

<sup>1</sup> Most of these places exist and have been noticed. Kinārah lies about a league to the south of Persepolis; Rubāt Mashk is doubtless equivalent to Dih Bīd, but neither Dih Jawz (for Gawz) nor Qal'at-i-Majūs are now to be found.

<sup>2</sup> For this and the next see the Arab geographers; it has been copied here from the *Fārs Nāmāh*. In the reverse order this is the route followed by Timūr when on his march from Shustar to Qal'ah Safīd and Shīrāz, as given in the *Zafar Nāmāh*. Juvaym (modern Gūyum) and Khullār exist, but neither Kharrārah (the Humming Water) nor Dih Gawz (Nut Village). Kuzgān is Kūsjān of *Fārs Nāmāh*, p. 885 and the modern Kusingān. Nawbanjān, or Nawbandajān, now in ruin, was a celebrated city throughout the Middle Ages; it lies some twenty-five miles due north of Shāpūr, and close to the famous valley of Shīr Bāvān.

<sup>3</sup> The distances on from Bustānak to Tustar are omitted. Khābdān, Khwābdān, Khabādān, or Khwāndān, was on the river of that name already mentioned on p. 132 and Gunbad Mallaghān is doubtless the modern Dū Gunbadān (see p. 127). The remaining stages to Arrajān are difficult to identify, and the MSS. give a variety of readings. Kishish appears as Kishn, Kish or Mālīsh; Chāhah is the same name as Sāhah or Sāhik; Furzuk is given as Jazraq, Khawraq or Marzaq. The same uncertainty is found in the *Fārs Nāmāh*, also in the corresponding Itineraries of Ibn Iḥawqal and Muqaddasī, and none of these names now occurs on the map.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Birejik, on the upper Euphrates, thirty-five miles above Jisr Manbij (Qal'at-an-Najm).

## CHAPTER XVI

Cause of mountains; advantages therefrom. Abū Qubays and Uhud. Mount Aigaeus. Alvand. The Alburz range. Mount Bisutun. Mount Jūdī. Mount Damāvand. Rastū and its snakes. Mount Rāsmānd and the Kītū Meadow. The Sāvah Mountain and its Cavern. Mount Sablān. Mountain where Adam fell, in Ceylon. Mount Sahand. Mount Sinai. The Mountain of Qāf. The Kargas Hills. Kunābad and Raybad Mountains, mentioned in the *Shāh Nāmah*. Māst or Araiāt. The emerald mine of Mount Muqattam. The Salt Hill of Qum

SECTION 2. Concerning the mountains of Īrān, and other famous mountains.

In philosophical works it is explained how, earth and water being mingled together, from the viscosity that is in the earth, the heat of the sun causes the same to harden, thus turning it to stone, [١٩٠] even as fire bakes the clay-brick. But the sun's heat then beginning to act on the stone, this loses its hardness and is broken up; which process continually accelerated by the succession of many nights and days cracks appear, splitting the rocks, which same are thus again turned to earth. Then by the action of earthquakes mountain peaks are demolished, while by the blowing of the winds and the running waters the soft earth is carried from one place to another, yet all that is rock and hard soil will remain fixed, whereby heights and hollows are formed, and it is these heights that are the mountain ranges.

Now if there were no mountains on the face of the earth, the ground would always be moving, which same is proved by the words of the Qurān, where God says (ch. XVI. v. 15) *And He hath thrown firm mountains on the earth, lest it move with you*, and again (ch. LXXVIII. v. 7) *He has spoken of the mountains which are its tent-stakes*; and further, if the ground were always moving it would not remain a level sphere, nor would the wind blow equally everywhere across it. And but for these heights and the hollows, there would be no possibility of running waters; neither would there be the advantages found in the high cold country and the low hot lands, and the products of these two districts would not come to their perfection. Wherefore Eternal Providence has so ordained that, by reason of these heights and hollows, high and low mountains have come to appear on the face of the earth, and in their midst streams, whereby these many advantages of climate are brought to pass—blessed be He who

is the origin of everything, and may He be exalted who<sup>3</sup> is the source of all.

We shall now set forth in alphabetical order all that is known of the mountains of the lands of Īrān, and mention some other celebrated mountains.

**Abulustān Mountain.** In Rūm (Asia Minor). Qazvīnī reports that in its midst is a gorge from which a road leads forth, and whosoever wishes to pass by this road must all the time eat bread and cheese in order to go in safety, otherwise he will turn sick by reason of the dampness of this pass. This fact is well known throughout that country.

**Mount Abū Qubays.** This is a great mountain of Mecca. According to the account given by Ibn ʿAbbās, the Prophet is reported to have said, *The first mountain that God, be He exalted, set upon the earth was Abū Qubays, and there will be spread forth in its amplitude the (assembly of the Day of) Judgment.*

**Mount Uḥud.** This is one of the famous mountains to the north of Medina. In commentaries and histories it is stated that this mountain, together with Mounts Thawr and Thabīr near Mecca, and Mount Raḍwā (near Medina), all these are but fragments of Mount Ṭūr (Sinai) which in the time of Moses, when God had manifested Himself unto him, were cast down here, [١٩١] as is said in the Qurān (ch. VII. v. 139), *And when his Lord manifested Himself to the mountain He turned it to dust.* How many leagues Mount Uḥud measures round is not known.

**Mount Arjān.** In Ṭabaristān. Qazvīnī reports that in this mountain is a spring where the water, dropping from a stone, forthwith makes figures, hexagonal, octagonal and pentagonal in shape, and otherwise, which same are petrifications, and these the people take to use for making seals.

**Mount Arjāst (Argaeus).** In Asia Minor; an immensely great and high mountain, on the flanks of which stand the cities of Qaysariyyah (Caesarea Mazaka) and Davalū. The summit of this mountain is never free from snow, and though they say that in every year for a certain number of days one can reach the summit, at most times the ascent is impossible. A great Church has been built on this mountain. What may be the number of leagues of the circuit of the mountain no one knows. Many streams flow down from its sides, which take their course through the Province of Asia Minor.

**Mount Alvand (or Arvand).** This lies to the south-west of Hamadān city, being a celebrated mountain, the circuit of which is 30 leagues. Its summit is never free from snow, and it is visible from a distance of 20 leagues or more away. On the summit of the mountain is a spring of water in the hard rock, and that rock is after the fashion of a building that has been thrown down upon it, and from among these rocks a little water trickles forth. This

may well be seen in summer time, but in winter it is all hidden under the snow. I myself have been there: it was a Friday night, and they told me that in every week, during that one day and night, the water came forth copiously, flowing down along the ground, but on other days of the week none made its way out. Qazvīnī, when mentioning Hamadān, states that 42 streams flow down from Mount Alvand, for its other springs are beyond all count.

**Ashkahrān Mountain.** This is of the Iṣfahān province: it overlooks Greater Lur, and there are huge vipers here.

**Alburz Mountain.** This is a great range which starts from Bāb-al-Abwāb (Darband), and many other mountain chains join it, so that from Turkistān to the Hījāz there is but a single range, stretching for over a thousand leagues in length. Many, because of its length, count it as forming part of the Mountain of Qāf (which encircles the whole earth). On the western part of the Alburz, where the range of Gurgistān (Georgia) occurs, come the Lagzi (Lesgian) [۱۹۶] mountains; and here, according to the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm*, there are so many different peoples, that seventy and more languages are spoken. Also in these mountains are many marvels. When the range comes to Shimshāṭ and Malaṭīyah it is called Qālīqalā. When it reaches Anṭākiyah (Antioch, of Syria) and Maṣṣīṣah (Mopsuestia) it is known as Lukkām, and here it forms the barrier between Syria and the Greek Country (Asia Minor). When the range comes to between Damascus and Hims it is called Lubnān (Lebanon). When it gets to between Mecca and Medina it is known as ʿAraj. At its western end, where the range comes to Arrān and Ādharbāyjān, it is called Qafq (Caucasus); and on the confines of (Persian) ʿIrāq and Gilān it is known as the Mountain of Ṭarqal Dar. When it reaches the middle parts of Qūmis and Māzandarān it is known as Mūz, for the name Māzandarān was originally Mūzāndarūn; and where it comes to the districts of Khurāsān the range is known as Sūnaj.

**Alnaz Mountain.** The common people say that the name originally was Aʿlā Nazz (the Upper Fountain), which by usage came to be shortened to Alnaz, but this assertion is not to be credited, for Alnaz is in truth a proper name. The mountain lies to the north of Qazvīn; it is very high and adjoins the other ranges of the district. There is here a Mosque, and the footsteps of many saints have come hither, for here prayers are answered. Also there are two Mihrābs (niches) in this Mosque, and Qazvīnī reports, which same the common people here also affirm, that the tomb of Uways Qaranī<sup>1</sup> is in this spot. The summit of this

<sup>1</sup> A Companion of the Prophet, and a partizan of ʿAlī, killed according to one account at the battle of Ṣiffīn.

mountain, on the side which overlooks Rūdbār, is always covered with snow.

**Īlāq Mountain.** In Turkistān, where there are mines of silver and gold.

**Bāmdād (or Bāmdār) Mountain.** In Little Lur. In the *Zubdah-at-Tawārīkh*<sup>1</sup> it is stated that there is here a stone which serves the purpose of fuel, but the smell of its smoke puts animals to flight.

**Mount Bīsutun.** In Kurdistān, and most famous among hills. It is very high and formed of black rocks, which rise from the plain, and there are neither foot-hills nor valleys at its base. Twenty leagues away the peak of this mountain is visible, and it is twenty leagues in circuit. On the summit of the mountain is a level space of ground, some 500 Jaribs (150 acres) in extent, where there is a spring of water with cultivated lands. In the year 711 (1311) [۱۳] by order of Ūljāyṭū Sulṭān, and aided by the engineers, I made a calculation to get the height of the mountain, and it came to equal 4800 cubits such as the tailors use (*Gas-i-Khayyātī*). In most times clouds, from the lands round, remain in banks on the clefts of the summit of this mountain. It is possible, but by a rocky road that is difficult to pass, to get across the range. In the poem of *Khusraw and Shīrīn*, by Shaykh Nizāmī of Ganjah, the following couplets occur, King Khusraw Parvīz saying to Farhād :

*There is a mountain on my passage,  
Which it were difficult to make a road across,  
None the less, through the mountain a road must be dug,  
That my coming and going may be made easy.*

But the tradition is of dubious origin, and Shaykh Nizāmī can never himself have seen the place, and must have described it by hearsay only. The fact is that on the plain below the summit of the mountain there is an abundant spring of water, sufficient to turn two or three mills, and they have hewn in the live rock a hall which stands above this spring, and it has a gallery round it: the remains here are therefore a permanent witness to (that of which Nizāmī writes). Further, at the other end of the mountain, some six leagues distant from the great spring with its gallery, there has been built a second but smaller gallery, round two springs which gush out over against the same, and each spring is abundant enough to turn a mill. This place is known as the Gallery of (the Horse) Shabdīz, and round it have been sculptured the likenesses of Khusraw and Shīrīn and Farhād, also of Rustam and Isfandiyār with others; and every bolt in the armour (of Rustam) and even the silken strings of the harp (of Farhād) are all most

<sup>1</sup> 'Cream of Histories,' by Jamāl-ad-Dīn Kāshānī.

wonderfully represented herein, so as to be easily recognised. There is also in this neighbourhood, on the Kūlkū (river), a much venerated shrine, and the common people say that this is the tomb of Uways Qaranī<sup>1</sup>.

**Barjīn Mountain.** In the Qazvīn province. There is here a cavern and tunnel, by which you go down for a distance of a horse-gallop. Here it becomes extremely cold, and at the end there is a stream of running water, which lower down still becomes a river. A great wind comes from this place, and no daylight from outside can be seen, so that none can go hither without a lamp, and nobody knows what may be the condition of things at the end of the tunnel. The people of the country round obtain their mill-stones from this place.

**Mount Jūdī.** This lies in the district of Mosul and Jazīrah (Ibn ʿOmar). [۱۹۴] The Ark of Noah came to rest upon it, as is said in the Qurān (ch. XI. v. 46) *And it was said 'O earth! swallow up thy water'; and 'cease O heaven'; and the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled, and the Ark rested upon Al Jūdī.* Qazvīnī asserts that down to Abbasid times pieces of the Ark of Noah still rested here. Noah afterwards built on this mountain a village, known as Sūq Thamānīn (the Market of the Eighty), for there were eighty persons saved with him in the Ark, but except for Noah and his family none left descendants. Hence it is that Noah is called the second Adam.

**Mount Darāk.** This lies two leagues distant from Shīrāz. They have constructed here cellars for snow, and in winter they collect the snow here, which in summer they bring down to Shīrāz, and thereon the city depends for its supply.

**Mount Damāvand.** This is a famous mountain, so extremely high that it may be seen from a distance of 100 leagues away. It rises to the east of the province of Ray. Its summit is never free from snow, it is 20 leagues in circuit, and in height it rises to above 5 leagues. On its summit is a plain that is 100 Jaribs (30 acres) in extent, and it is covered with sand in which the foot sinks down. In the summer-time the snow on the mountain turns to ice, and in its midst much water forms. The common people say that this water is warm. There occur in this mountain many avalanches, because day after day the snow falls one layer above another, when of a sudden a piece will break off, and coming down on some man will forthwith kill him. The people here say that in these dangerous places no word must be spoken, otherwise the avalanche will fall, and hence it is their custom to be given to no talking, but to pass along quickly lest the avalanche come down on them. Qazvīnī reports that if one face of the summit becomes free of snow, so that the ground shows out

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 182.

black, then (in the country-side) on that flank of the mountain, which is thus become visible, there will be bloodshed. In the *Šuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that (the tyrant) Zuhāk lies imprisoned in this mountain.

**The Darābjird Mountains.** In the *Šuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is said that here there are found salts of all colours, white and black, green, yellow and red, also of other tints besides these mentioned.

**Mount Rastū.** This is on the road going to Shabānkārah, to the westward of the south-western quarter of that district. [۱۹۰] It is also known as the Bātilah Mountain. Its height is three leagues. It rises up like a dome, being circular, and its circuit is sixteen leagues. The summit of this mountain is visible from most parts of the province of Fārs. Many medicinal herbs grow on its flanks, and numerous gulleys go down from its summit to its foot. At the base of the mountain is a plain, and snakes are always found on that mountain. At most times snow covers this mountain, and the snakes here are so huge that some are found to weigh even as much as 50 or 60 *Mann*-weight.

**Mount Rāsmānd.** To the north of the city of Karaj, where, like Mount Bisutun (already described), it rises up sheer from the plain, a sight to view, having at its base neither valleys nor foothills. It is of black rock, and has clouds covering it like the roof of a house. To the north of this mountain lies the Meadow of Kitū, one of the most famous of the meadow lands of (Persian) °Irāq, being six leagues in the length by three leagues in the breadth. The spring named after King Khusraw flows forth in the midst of these meadows, at the mountain foot. The mountain itself has a circuit of ten leagues.

**Rāmand Mountain.** This lies to the south-west of Qasvin, and to the north of Khirqān. It has a settled population, for there are villages and cultivated fields here. It is a hill of no great height, but it is famous, being often mentioned in the Pahlavī dialect poems, as, for instance, in the couplet

*Good is Mount Alvand, with Damāvand,  
But how (ill) they appear without Mount Rāmand.*

**Mount Raqīm.** In Asia Minor, on the confines of °Ammū-riyah (Amorion). It is mentioned in the Qurān, and the Cavern of the (Seven Sleepers, or) Companions of the Cave was in this mountain. Their story is well known, and need not be here repeated. This mountain is eighteen leagues in circuit.

**Rānik (or Zānik) Mountain.** In Turkistān; there are here gold and silver mines.

**Zardah Mountain.** In Luristān. The upper waters of the Jūy-i-Sard (Cold River) which is the chief source of both the Zindah Rūd or river of Iṣfahān, and of the Dujayl or Tustar river, arise in this mountain.

**Kūh-i-Zar, or Gold Mountain.** Near Dāmghān. There is a gold mine here, from which it has its name.

**Sāvah Mountain.** This lies a day's march from Sāvah, on the frontier of Khirqān, near the shrine of Dhū-l-Kifl<sup>1</sup>. It is very high, [۱۹۷] and Qazvīnī relates that in this mountain is a cavern after the manner of a hall, where there are sculptures and numerous images. At the back of the cavern is a tank, and above this are four stones, which are each of the form of a woman's breast, and from all these continually water drops, being collected in the tank below. This water, in spite of long standing, never becomes corrupt, and it is a specific for many diseases, as the people of Sāvah well know and can bear witness to.

**Mount Sablān.** In Ādharbāyjān, and one of the most famous of mountains. The towns of Ardabil, Sarāh, Pishkīn, Ābād, Arjāq, and Khiyāv lie round its base. It is a very high mountain, being visible from a distance of 50 leagues, and it is 30 leagues in circuit. Its summit is never free from snow; and on the summit is a spring, the water of which for the most part is always frozen to ice by reason of the great cold. Qazvīnī writes that, according to the Traditions, the Prophet once said, *He who recites (the verses of the Qurān, ch. XXX. 16, 17, 18) saying 'Glorify God therefore, when ye reach the evening and when ye rise at morn: And to Him be praise in the heavens and on the earth: He bringeth forth the living out of the dead, and He bringeth forth the dead out of the living: and He quickeneth the earth when dead. Thus is it that ye too shall be brought forth'; (verily for him who recites this) God will write vouchsafing him favours hereafter even so numerous as are the snowflakes which fall on Mount Sablān.* It was said to him: *O Prophet of God, but where is Sablān?* He answered, *It is a mountain between Armenia and Ādharbāyjān, on which is a spring of water, one of the springs of Paradise; also a tomb which is a tomb of one of the Prophets.* In the *History of Maghrīb*<sup>2</sup> it is stated that this spring is of extremely cold water, but that all round it are springs from which flows forth water that is boiling hot.

**Mount Sarāhand.** In (Persian) 'Irāq, and this lies to the south-west of the town of Abhar<sup>3</sup>.

**Mountain in Sarandīb.** This is one of the most famous of mountains. It is on the Island of Ceylon, in the Indian Sea, and Qazvīnī states that this was the place where Adam fell (to earth,

<sup>1</sup> For Dhū-l-Kifl, see Qurān XXI. 85 and XXXVIII. 48. He is identified with Elias, or with Isaiah.

<sup>2</sup> The author of this History, as stated below in chapter XXI, was living in Egypt in the year 512 (1118).

<sup>3</sup> Āhar is written in error for Abhar in some MSS., as in the Bombay Lithograph, and this has led to a mistake in *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 168, 169, where Sarāhand is described as that part of the Sablān Mountain which overhangs Āhar. Instead of this, and on p. 222, it should have been stated that the river of Abhar takes its rise in Mount Sarāhand, which lies at some distance to the south-west of that city.



when ejected from Paradise). In the Indian tongue it is called Dihū<sup>1</sup>, and it is the highest of all the mountains of that region, [۱۹۷] being visible many days' sail distant to sea. The footprint of Adam may be seen on a rock here, and from the great toe to the heel this is near 70 ells in length. Every day here, without there being either a storm or thunderclouds, the rain falls and washes clean from all dust this Footprint, and the people consider this a mark of great blessedness. All round here are mines of corundum, emery and rock crystal; also on these grounds great pieces of diamond are strewn about. Further, numberless scorpions and vipers are found here; and on the mountain-side grow aloes, with other odorous woods; also plugs of musk and civet occur, and most of the herbs here are medicinal in character. In the sea round Ceylon is the pearl fishery.

**Mount Sahand.** In Ādharbāyjān. The towns of Tabriz, Marāghah, Dih Khwārqān and Ūjān lie round its base, and its circuit is 25 leagues. Its summit is at times free from snow: and here stands the shrine of Usāmah ibn Surayk<sup>2</sup>, the Companion of the Prophet, and commander of his armies. There is also here a lake.

**Siyyāh Kūh, the Black Mountain.** In Ādharbāyjan; and at its foot lies the town of Kalanbar. It is a steep mountain and well peopled, but most of its inhabitants are highwaymen.

**Mount Sīpān.** It stands to the south-west of Akhlāt. It is very steep, is well peopled, and is visible from a distance of 50 leagues away. Its summit is never free from snow. Its circuit measures 50 leagues, and it has excellent meadow-lands.

**Shaqqān Mountain.** Near Jājarm, in Khurāsān. There is a cleft in this mountain from which a stream of water, sufficient to turn a couple of mills, issues forth, and it is for this reason that the mountain is called Shaqqān (or the Clefts). Qazvīnī relates that in this mountain is a cavern, and whosoever puts his head into this is overcome by the damp vapours that arise here. And in this same quarter is another mountain, where, on going up, by reason of the power of the wind, it is impossible to take notice of aught except of that strong wind, but yet when the summit is reached there is then no wind at all to be felt.

**Mount Šūr.** Qazvīnī reports that in this mountain is found a stone in which, as in a looking-glass, figures can be seen reflected. Also when this stone is broken up in water the fragments preserve this same peculiarity and continue to reflect things.

**Ṭāriq Mountain.** In Ṭabaristān. Qazvīnī relates that in this mountain is a cavern, [۱۹۸] where there is a platform, known as the Platform of Solomon, and they hold it in great veneration,

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Qutaybah and Yāqūt give the name as *Wāsim*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a mistake for Usāmah ibn Zayd, leader of the first Syrian campaign.

as having been blessed by him. Now if this platform comes to be defiled by any impurity, forthwith the weather changes, lightning and storms arise, and do not abate until the place has again been purified.

**Mount Ṭabarak.** Near Ray. There is here a silver mine, but exactly what is expended on it, that alone does the mine produce, so no profit is made, and hence it now remains unworked.

**Ṭūr Sīnā (Mount Sinai).** This is one of the most famous mountains of the world and it is many times mentioned in the Qurān. The prophet Moses here saw the Divine Light above the Bush, and spoke with God.

**Mount Ghazwān.** On the borders of Ṭāif. Snow and ice are found on its summit, but in no other mountain in the Arab Peninsula is this the case.

**Farghānah Mountain.** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that there are here mines of turquoise, quicksilver, copper, lead, gold, naphtha, bitumen, asphalt, sal ammoniac and copperas. Also there is found here a stone (coal) which is used for fuel.

**Qārin Mountain.** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* a mountain of this name is said to be found in Kirmān, and the same authority states that one also exists in Ṭabaristān<sup>1</sup>.

**The Mountain of Qāf.** Yāqut states that this is the mighty mountain which encircles the earth, and that from it up into the heavens is but the space of a fathom, seeing that the heavens cover it like a lid. Chapter (Fifty of the Qurān) named Qāf is an indication of its importance. The substance thereof is emerald, the blue colour of the sky being the reflection of this. Beyond lie worlds of many created things, the true condition of which no one knows, except God—be He exalted. In some of the Commentaries it is said that the Mountain of Qāf is itself entirely of emerald. Both Qazvīnī and Yāqūt state that the foundations of all other mountains are in connection with its foundations; and thus when God—be He exalted and glorified—is wrath with any people and would send an earthquake upon them, then His command comes to the Angel, who is in ward on Mount Qāf, that he do shake the summit and foundation of the mountain indicated to him, whereby an earthquake occurs in the country of those folk. Now the warrenry for this lies on him who has reported it, but as Mount Qāf is given to be the base of all other mountains, this has been set forth to explain its conditions as here written down, although indeed it is far from being credible.

**Mount Qabalah.** This lies between the provinces of Arrān and Gurjistān (Georgia).

<sup>1</sup> See *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, note to p. 317, and p. 372.

**Qafṣ Mountain.** In Kirmān; and in the *Suwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that [۱۹۹] this is the home of the Balūch people, who are most of them highwaymen.

**Kargas Mountains** (the Vulture Hills). In the Great Desert, in the neighbourhood of the city of Naṭanz, and they adjoin no other mountains. They are ten leagues in circuit, being very high and steep; and by reason of their height (no other birds but) Vultures (called *Kargas*) can fly over them; and it is by reason of this fact that the hills have their name. Among these hills there is a quagmire (covered by salt-efflorescence) which from afar appears like water. Travellers, catching sight of this and taking it for water, go near, they suffering extremity of thirst being in need of the water; whereupon they are engulfed by the quagmire and so come to their destruction<sup>1</sup>.

**The Kirmān Mountains.** Qazvīnī states that they find here a stone (coal) which, like wood, catches fire easily, and hence is used for fuel. There are also in these mountains silver mines.

**Gulistān Mountain.** This is of the Mūghān district. It covers a league square of ground, and there are wild flowers here of great sweetness. It is said that in former times the Ismailian (Assassins) made a Paradise (or Garden) of this place, and it was one of their pleasure grounds.

**Gulistān (or Gulshān) Mountain of Ṭūs.** There is here a cavern that is like a hall, and a passage leads from it which when you have gone down some way you come to the light, and here is an enclosure where there is a spring. The water from this, when it has flowed some way from its source, petrifies. On beyond this spring a wind begins to blow, which prevents any further progress down the passage.

**Kunābad and Raybad Mountains.** These are two hills, standing opposite the one to the other, in the province of Quhis-tān. Firdawsī refers to them in the verse<sup>2</sup>:

*Dost thou choose the battleground in Kunābad Mount?  
Or else on the side of Mount Raybad wouldst thou prefer to  
fight?*

**Kūshīd Mountain.** This lies between (Persian) °Irāq and Fārs, and in the days of king Kay Khusraw a mighty dragon dwelt here, from fear of which the people had abandoned their

<sup>1</sup> The better reading of the Persian text will be found on p. ۳۰۱, and this I owe to Sir A. H. Schindler [who has made an emendation not warranted by the MSS.]. In my *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 209, line 3, from a mistaken reading of the Bombay Lithograph (where *waḥl*, 'quagmire,' should have been read, not *wa'l*, 'ibex'), the sentence beginning 'and the ibex' down to the words 'in great numbers' should come out.

<sup>2</sup> See *Shāh Nāmāh*, Mohl, III. 379. The plain between Kunābad and Raybad was the battle-field of the Twelve Champions of Irān and Tūrān in the reign of King Kay Khusraw.

habitations. Kay Khusraw slew the dragon and built a Fire-temple on the spot, which afterwards came to be known as Dayr Kūshīd.

**Gīlūyah Mountain.** This is a celebrated district in which lie many hills, and it is counted as of the kingdom of Fārs. Among the rest is Mount Danā, and it is said that Kay Khusraw died here at a place called Damah<sup>1</sup>. [r··]

**Mount Māst.** This mountain<sup>2</sup> lies to the westward of Nakhchivān, and at a distance of 14 leagues from that city. It is a very steep and high mountain, being visible at a distance of from 30 to 40 leagues, and its summit is never free from snow, indeed it is at most times quite hidden in the snow. The mountain is 30 leagues in circuit.

**Mount Mūrjān.** In Fārs. Qazvīnī states that in this mountain is a cavern, and from its roof water falls in drops, and whether one person enters or whether it be one hundred persons who go in there, all are equally drenched by the water, which falls either more or less according to their number. It is said that this is caused by a talisman.

**Mount Muqāṭṭam.**<sup>3</sup> In that part of this range which is in the Ṣaʿīd province of Upper Egypt there is an emerald mine, and except for this one place none other such is to be found elsewhere (in Egypt).

**Nafasht Mountain.** In the *Fārs Nāmāh*<sup>4</sup> this is described as in the neighbourhood of Persepolis, and here may be seen the figures in sculpture of every created object and animal, so wonderfully wrought that any craftsman of the present time would be incapable of doing the like. And in the days of the Chosroes the Book of the Zend (Avesta) was kept on this mountain.

**Kūh Namak Lān** (the Salt Mountain). This lies between Āvah and Qum, being composed of dusty earth, and it adjoins no other hill. By reason of its soil being salt no snow can remain on it: and no one can get to the top, for the foot sinks down in climbing. Even with skilful treatment no salt can be obtained here that is not too bitter. It has a circuit of three leagues, but neither water nor any growing herb is found there, and it is visible from a distance ten leagues away.

<sup>1</sup> For the Passing of Kay Khusraw see the celebrated episode in the *Shāh Nāmāh*, Mohl, IV. 212. Firdawsī however does not mention the name of either the mountain or the place. These are given in the *Guzīdah*, at the close of the paragraph on Kay Khusraw's reign, chap. II. section II, on the Kayanian Kings.

<sup>2</sup> Ararat, otherwise called Ilārith and Iluwayrith and by the Armenians Masis.

<sup>3</sup> Muqāṭṭam, according to Yāqūt, in addition to being the name of the hill overlooking Cairo, was also the name of the range extending from Aswān along the eastern bank of the Nile as far as Abyssinia.

<sup>4</sup> *Fārs Nāmāh*, p. 28. This mountain and its connection with the revelation of the Zend Avesta does not appear to be mentioned by any other Arab geographer. See *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1918, p. 311, where Mr J. J. Modi points out that *Nafasht* is Pahlavi *Nibīshī* (a writing or record), and that *Karītā Nīpīst* 'the Castle of the Writings' is spoken of in the *Virāf Nāmāh* as the place, near Ištakhr, where the Chosroes kept their archives.

**Harmaz Mountain.** In Tabaristān. Qazvīnī states that in this mountain is a cavern where there is running water. Now when any one goes there and gives a shout the water stops, but when another comes and gives a shout the water begins to flow again ; so after this fashion a shout makes it flow and a shout stops it.

**Mount Huwayn.** In Little Lur, and there are iron mines here.

**Mount Yakhtāyī.** This is a mountain where many excellent things abound, for there are numberless pastures and fruit lands, houses, villages, limpid streams and springs of water. [۲۰۱].

## CHAPTER XVII

The three kinds of Minerals. The seven Metals. Mines of Gold, Silver, Iron, Lead, Zinc, Tin and Copper. The three kinds of Gem-stones. Precious Stones: Diamond, Garnet, Plasma, Emerald, Carnelian, Turquoise, Ruby, Sapphire and Jasper. Stones of lesser value: Coral, Rock-crystal and Agate. Common Stones: Tutty, Copperas, Glass, Alum, Kuhl (Antimony), Litharge, Marcasite, Sal-Ammoniac and Lapis-Lazuli. The Mineral Unguents: Pitch, Quicksilver, Ambergris, Asphalt, Sulphur, Bitumen and Naphtha

### SECTION 3. Giving an account of where Minerals are found.

In the First Part of this work<sup>1</sup> an explanation of the origin of the (three) natural kingdoms (of animals, vegetables and minerals) has been given, and it was then set forth how minerals formed three species, namely, Metals, Stones and Mineral Unguents. Further, and when enumerating these, the manner of their formation was explained, and now it remains to name the mines in every province, where many of these minerals are found; and this will be accomplished in three sub-sections.

#### SUB-SECTION I. Describing the seven kinds of Metals.

**Gold.** There are many mines of this metal, which for the most part lie in the hot regions, but the best, for the excellence of the ore, and the quantity of the output, are those of Maghrib. It is for this reason that Maghrib-gold is now famous; and many say that from all times in Maghrib people who were acquainted with the art of Alchemy have made gold, for which cause it is that gold there is very abundant. Then the mines of Andalusia too are excellent, and very profitable. The mine at Al-Bajjah in Abyssinia gives excellent output; also those in the desert lying between Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia and the Red Sea give good profit. The mine in Sicily is known as the Gold Mountain. The mine in the Wāqwāq Isles (Japan) gives immense returns, so much so that most of the government edicts of that people are inscribed on gold. There are also gold-mines in the desert of Khutlān, which is on the borders of Turkistān: further other mines here in the Rāng Mountains; and in the *Ṣurwar-al-Aqālīm* it is said that, in these mines, large and small ingots lie about the surface of the ground; but it is a notable fact that if the large ingots are carried off then a death occurs among the people here.

<sup>1</sup> Which deals with Animals and Minerals and is not included in the present publication.

Again there is a mine between Bukhārā and Ushrūsanah; also one in the mountain near Samarqand, which is easily worked, and which is of great richness. Then there is a mine near Sijilmāsah (in Maghrib) which gives a great output, but the road thither is difficult, and the mine is troublesome to work. There is a mine in the mountains of the Īlāq district in Turkistān, and another in Farghānah. In the neighbourhood of Dāmghān is a mine in what is called the Gold Mountain, and ingots of gold are found here in the soil. This soil they wash in order to separate out the gold; and in all Īrān, at the present day, there is no other gold-mine beside this one. In Sīstān is a mine that is, in the common mouth, much celebrated, because in the times of the Sultans of Ghaznah, what resembled a needle in gold was discovered here on the ground. As they dug lower, [۱۰۲] it got thicker, and so increased until it became of the thickness of a great tree. In the times of the later Ghaznavids, however, the mine was laid in ruins by an earthquake, and became choked, so that its very position was hid from sight. Now all this (matter of a golden tree in the earth) is hardly credible, for how should a metal be a growing thing like a plant, seeing that metal is more of the nature of an inorganic fossil than of a vegetable? Then again, how can it be that a famous mine, productive in a high degree, should become in a moment lost to sight? The truth seems to be that the mine really never existed, and that the account of it is but a fable told to amuse and entertain ignorant folk.

**Silver.** Of silver-mines there are many, mostly in cold countries, and the best, by reason of the purity of the ore, and the abundant output, are those in the Frank countries, which lands have ever been famous for their silver-mines. But there are silver-mines in Khutlān on the Turkistān border; also the mine in the Samarqand mountain, which is easily worked, and gives good returns. In the mountains of Jīruft in Kirmān there is a mine, and one in the Dibistān hills, this last being called Silver-hill; and there are others in the Īlāq province of Turkistān, and in the Rāng Mountains also of Turkistān, and in this latter mine there is the same peculiarity already noted in the gold-mine there (noticed above), namely that the larger ingots must not be carried away (or a death occurs). Then there is a mine in the Farghānah province, another in Bukhārā of Transoxiana, another in Shāsh (Tāshkand) of the same. Further, in Andalusia are silver-mines, and one at Sīmkūh (Silver-hill) lying between Fārs and Jawāshīr (Kirmān city). Also one at Lūlū in Asia Minor, than which in all Persia there is no mine richer in its output. In the mine of Ṭabarak near Ray, whatsoever amount be spent thereon, that sum only does it give back in metal: hence for the most part it is left unworked. In the times of the Saljūqs,

however, it was continuously worked, for they said: 'Although it give no tangible increase, yet since silver is the chief revenue in the world, even this increase of metal is to the good.'

**Iron.** Of this metal there are many mines, and in the kingdom of Bāmiyān is a district called the Iron Foundry (Āhan Kār). In Arabia is Mount Qusās, where there is a mine producing excellent iron, from which steel is made, hence the Qusāsī swords are famous and much to be relied on. There is also a mine in the Khwāf district of Quhistān, and another in the Qārin Mountain of Kirmān. From the mine near Šāhah (or Šāhik) in Fārs excellent steel is got; also from the Quṭruh mine in the same province. Further there is the Kūrah mine in the district of the Two Ṭārums [٢٠٧] near Qazvīn, the Huwayn mine in the mountains of Little Lur; and the mine near Ganjah of Arrān: finally, the mine near Kalantar (Kalanbar) on the borders of Ādharbāyjān.

**Lead.** Of this metal many mines exist, and the most famous are those of Mount Damāvand. Then there is the mine near Bukhārā, also one in the Ushrūsanah province, and that in the Farghānah mountains.

**Zinc.** This metal is not found in Īrān, and philosophers have said regarding it, that it might be taken as a comparison for non-existence. In certain books, however, I find it stated that mines of it exist in China, where they make of this metal arms for war, and it gives an edge that is harder than iron.

**Tin.** Of this there are numerous mines, but the most famous and the most productive are the mines at Qal'ah, on the Indian frontier of China, and it is for that reason it is known (in Arabic) as Qala'ī. According to another account there is a mountain in Andalusia called Qal'ah, where there is a mine producing also lead (*Arzīz*), and it is from this mountain that the tin takes its name<sup>1</sup>. There is also a mine at Mān-Rūd of Lesser Lur, where pieces of tin are found weighing each two Mithqāls, each like an acorn with a hole through in the middle. Then there are the tin-mines of the Islands of Kallah and Sarbuzah in the Indian Sea, and there are mines in the Frank Country.

**Copper.** Of this metal there are many mines, and the most famous for their output are those in the provinces of Gīlān and Ādharbāyjān. Then there are the mines in the mountains near Bukhārā, and in Ushrūsanah, also in the province of Farghānah. There is a mine in the Mountain of Jawshan, lying to the westward of Aleppo in Syria, and Qazvīn<sup>2</sup> reports that originally this gave an enormous output, but that the mine lost all prosperity from the time when the family of the Commander of the Faithful,

<sup>1</sup> Tin is more probably called *Qala'ī*, from *Kalang*, the Malay name for this metal; or, as said here, from Qal'ah, which is otherwise spelt Kalah, the famous port of Quedah in the Malacca Peninsula, which will be mentioned later when describing the Indian and Chinese Seas.

<sup>2</sup> The account given in the Arabic text of Qazvīn differs from the following.



Husayn, the son of 'Alī—upon whom be peace—were brought past this place as prisoners (after the massacre at Karbalā); for the people here had mocked them in their misfortunes, though the women of Husayn's family were perishing from the oppressive heat, and the children were falling down exhausted. And to the present day, no matter what is spent upon working this mine, it gives but a poor return. Lastly, there is the mine on Mount Sablān in Ādharbāyjān, which produces excellently pure copper.

#### SUB-SECTION II. Describing Stones.

There are many kinds of gem-stones, and we shall describe those that are most famous and of greatest price in three categories, namely those that are precious stones, then those that are of lesser value, and finally common stones.

Of precious stones there are nine kinds.

**Diamond.** In the first part of this work it has been described how these stones are found in the valleys of the Ceylon mountains, [۴۰۴] but that from fear of the vipers that live in these valleys none dare go there. Hence only by tricks and artifices, using birds to carry forth the same, is it possible to get the stones out from these valleys, and it is because of this that all the pieces of diamond are so small.

**Garnet.** The best and most famous mines of this stone are in the Frank Country, and these too are in the westernmost parts of that land.

**Plasma.** The Plasma of the Franks is famous, and in the Īl-Khānid *Tansukh Nāmah* it is stated that there is in Turkistān a city that was founded by Afrāsiyāb, where there is a Plasma mine, and the colour of the stone is like the corundum. Further, at Dizmār in Ādharbāyjān there is a mine of Plasma, where water, exuding from the stone, congeals after the fashion of ice and petrifies.

**Emerald.** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is reported that there is one mine of emeralds only, namely in Mount Muqaṭṭam, in the Ṣa'īd province of Upper Egypt, (the same mountain also which in the northern part of the range near Cairo) overhangs Qarāfah. In the whole world there is no other emerald mine but this.

**Carnelian.** There is of this stone an excellent mine in Yaman, and the Yaman Carnelian is famous. This mine is known by the name of Qusās<sup>1</sup>.

**Turquoise.** There are many mines of this stone, but the best mine is that of Nīshāpūr, by reason of the good quality of the stones and the little labour of getting them. In the mountains of Nīshāpūr there are pits dug where the Turquoises are found, and thence come the best stones. These Nīshāpūr Turquoises

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether this is the same place as that mentioned on the previous page, where there was a famous iron-mine.

were famous; but of late years scorpions have come to be found in these pits, and in fear of them the people have ceased to work the mines. There are also the Tūs mines, but these give fewer Turquoises than those of Nishāpūr. Then there are mines in the mountains lying between Bukhārā and Ushrūsanah, also mines in Farghānah, and in Kirmān, but in this last-named province the Turquoises are immature and unformed, and hence fetch but a low price.

**Ruby.** In the early times no Rubies were found, hence it is that in histories so little mention is made of this stone; but of later years they have been discovered in the Badakhshān Mountains, where there are excellent mines. Also on the high-road into Ādharbāyjān there is a mine, but the Rubies from here are immature, being of a dark colour and tinged with blue; and hence these fetch no great price.

**Sapphire.** The Sapphire mines lie near the equator, for there the power of the heat is greatest, and the Sapphire is only able to get to its maturity after the lapse of time under a powerful heat.

**Jasper.** This stone is of diverse sorts. One kind is like Copperas, and the jewellers know it as Crystal-copperas. The best Jasper is that which is perfectly [r. o.] uniform in tint, or which displays colours (in bands) so that each is entirely singular: and of this sort is that which comes from Yaman and is called Yamanī Jasper, and it is clear as crystal.

Stones of lesser value.

**Coral and the Coral stone.** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* there is said to be a mine of this stone in Andalusia, and except for this one there is no other in the rest of the whole world.

**Rock-crystal.** This is found in India, in the mountains of the province of Kashmīr. It is also found in the hills of the Frank countries, but though in the Frank country it is found in greater abundance, the best is the Indian Rock-crystal. In the crystal mine it is impossible to work by day, for the effect of the sun's rays is to make it like a burning-glass, so that it burns the clothes of the workmen.

**Agate.** Mines of this stone exist in Yaman, and in some other places; but there is none that is harder than that coming from Yaman.

The Bezoar Stone and Amber are of the value of Carnelian, and they are of diverse sorts.

**Common Stones.** These are of all kinds, and in the first part of this book they have been already described; hence we shall only need to mention here the mines of those sorts which are of some more particular value.

**Tutty.** There are many mines of this, and in Īrān, in a village near Kirmān called Dih Tūtiyā Garān, Tutty is got from the

mine as a heavy ore, which being moistened is made up into the form of bars, each an ell in length. When dry these are put in a furnace, and the action of fire extracts the Tutty, which remains in the shape of the bars, and like sword sheaths, which are then taken out.

**Copperas.** There are numerous mines of this, but those in the Kingdom of Īrān only need here be mentioned. There is a mine in the Huwayn Mountain in Little Lur, where a mineral spring produces Copperas of diverse kinds. Then there is a mine in Mount Damāvand, and another in the Two Ṭārum districts of Qazvin.

**Glass.** Its source is the stone for striking fire (flint), and this is found in all countries. Whether it be opaque or clear depends on the art of him who makes it; and the best glass founders are those of Aleppo. The glass bottles from here are perfectly transparent and very famous.

**Alum.** That from Yaman is well known. In this province there is a hill where there is a spring; and the water from this, when it has passed out and run some distance, petrifies. From here the white Yamani Alum comes, and there is also black Alum.

**Kuhl.** (Antimony for the eyes.) There are many mines for collyrium. One mine is in the mountains of Iṣfahān, and this gives excellent collyrium. Another mine is in Mount Damāvand: likewise there is a mine in Andalusia, and the peculiarity of this mine is that the works give the greatest output in the quarter when the moon is waxing to her full.

**Litharge.** There are many special mines[۲۰۱] for this mineral, and it is also to be obtained in silver-mines; as, for example, in Mount Damāvand.

**Marcasite.** There is a mine of this stone in Mount Huwayn in Little Lur, and this gives the Marcasite spotted with gold, from which when melted the gold remains as an ingot.

**Sal-Ammoniac.** There are many mines of this, and in Īrān there is one in the mountains of the Nīmruz province. There by day you will see smoke, and by night a flame of fire, which comes forth from the mines; and when the men go up thither they clothe themselves in wet felts, for otherwise they would get burnt. The mine here named is the best for output of any known, but there is another mine in Transoxiana, and another at Uzkand.

**Lapis-Lazuli.** The best mines of this stone are in Badakhshān, but there are mines also in Māzandarān, and others at Dizmār in Ādharbāyjan, and there is also one in Kirmān<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Bombay Lithograph here adds the names and descriptions of a number of other stones, repeated from the earlier chapters of the work; but these are not given in the MSS. and hence are here omitted.

### SUB-SECTION III. Describing the Mineral Unguents.

**Pitch.** There are numerous mines for this, and according to the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* the best of all is that lying between Bukhārā and Ushrūsanah; there is also a mine in Farghānah.

**Quicksilver.** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that the best Quicksilver mines are at Barānis in Andalusia; and there is here a spring where Quicksilver and water ooze out together. It is exported thence to all lands. There is also a mine between Bukhārā and Ushrūsanah, and another mine in the Farghānah province.

**Ambergris.** There is much difference of opinion as to its origin, and this point has been discussed in the first part of this book: all accounts agree, however, in stating that Ambergris is from the sea, and that it is not found in Īrān.

**Asphalt (Qīr).** There are many springs of this. Among those in Īrān is that known as ‘Ayn-al-Qayyārah in the Mosul district, which gives its name to the neighbouring village. It has a large output. There is also a spring between Bukhārā and Ushrūsanah.

**Sulphur.** This is of diverse colours, and there are many mines of it. Among those in Īrān is that on Mount Damāvand. On the summit of this mountain they have dug pits to the number of seventy, from which they get the brimstone. One, the largest of these pits, it is impossible to get near to, by reason of the Sulphur vapour that gathers here, which same will cause anyone to faint. The common people say that (the two fallen Angels) Hārūt and Mārūt are imprisoned in this pit, and that the brimstone here found is formed from their breath, [٢٠٧] but this is a statement which is of no authority. There is also Sulphur in the mine at Bāmiyān, where there is a spring; and here the water bursts forth with such violence that the sound of it may be heard at some distance away, but when the water has run for a certain distance it petrifies, and then forms the brimstone. There is also a Sulphur mine in the Huwayn mountain of Little Lur, giving brimstone of diverse colours; and in various other countries also there are mines where Sulphur is found, as, for example, at the Barānis Mountain in Spain.

**Bitumen (Mūmiyā).** There are many springs of this, and of those in Īrān there is the well at the Āyī village in Shabānkārah. Here there is a hill, and drops exude from its side, which harden so as to form what is like wax (*mūm*): this they call Āyī-wax (*Mum-i-Āyī*) from which the name *Mūmiyā* has come, and this is the proper name of the substance.\* There is also a spring of this at Dih Ṣāhik in the district of Arrajān in the Fārs province, and another near Mosul.

**Naphtha.** There are many springs of this, but the most abundant in the Kingdom of Īrān is that at Bākū. Here over

a tract of land they have dug wells to get down to the Naphtha source, and the water which rises in these wells carries the Naphtha on its surface. There is also a spring in the Mosul district, and another in the country between Bayāt and Bandanījīn. In other countries too there are springs; as that lying between Bukhārā and Ushrūsanah, also the spring in Mount Asīrah in the province of Farghānah.

## CHAPTER XVIII

- The formation of rain, hail and snow. Formation of springs, and rivers, which flow into seas. Greater Rivers. Sayhān and Jayhān. The Euphrates. The Nile. The Itil (Volga). Aias (Araxes). Būy (Zarafshān). Baradān (Cydnus). Jayhūn (Oxus). Jurjān river. Dylah (Tigris). Dujayl (Kāiūn). Dizfūl river. The Murghāb or Raziq. Zundah Rūd of Isfahan. Zakan river. The Safid Rūd. Sayhūn (Jaxartes). The Shāhiūd. ʿAsī (Orontes). Farah river. Qārā Murān. Karkhah. River Kur (Cyus) of Arrān: and of Fāus. Ganges and Indus. Nahrawān. The Herāt river. The Hunmand

SECTION 4. Describing Rivers and their Origin, also how Springs and Rivers are formed.

In the First Part of this work it has been explained how the vapours are drawn up from off the mountains, and how they rise by the power of heat, for the power thereof is by its nature irresistible. Then by the weight of the watery particles the vapour next descends, and if the air be temperate this will reach the ground in the form of rain, but if the air be cold then these vapours will coalesce together, and the drops that are formed will congeal, and hail will ensue. Further again if the air be very cold, and no occasion be given that the falling drops should coalesce, then each in its minuteness freezes on itself, and thus snow is formed.

Now when the rain has fallen on the ground, and penetrated through its interstices, and the nature of the dry soil prevents its escape, then it will collect in the bowels of the earth, and as soon as much is collected will begin to force a way upwards. Where the ground is very hard it will be unable to make a passage for its exit, and then will turn sideways; but where it finds the ground soft it will break forth and form a spring. [۱۰۸] Now when on all sides the ground is saturated with moisture, then water will continue to flow unceasingly from the spring; but if it be only partially saturated then, when the hot season comes, the moisture in the outlying parts will fail, and in consequence the spring will go dry. When many springs join their waters, so that they flow together, then a river is formed; but the chief source of all rivers is the rain water, or the melting of the snows and hail, and this finding its way back into the bowels of the earth appears again as running water.

The water of rivers that has collected together in a hollow place is called a Sea (*Daryā*), and the same word is used to describe any great stream or stagnant body of water that it is impossible to ford, and that forces a man to swim (who would cross it). The

vapours therefore, even as the water in the revolution of a water-wheel, continually are drawn up and ascend into the sky, whence they descend again in the form of rain to flow over the surface of the ground. That part which sinks into the bowels of the earth, and there collects its waters, reappears in the form of springs, which, flowing to form rivers, are finally gathered together in the great seas, and also, but to a less degree, in lakes. This, therefore, is the visible and patent way in which rivers, taking their rise from springs in the mountains, run their courses to the seas and the lakes and the swamps: and praise be to Him who suffereth no one, unless He so will it, to comprehend these minute matters in that which He hath ordained and created. Lastly as to those vapours which have not the power to be drawn up by reason of their more exiguous condition, these of necessity must sink below the surface of the ground before they can, by condensing, form the sources of water-channels and wells.

Qazvini states that there are in the habitable world 240 and odd great rivers, the least length of any one of which is 50 leagues, while the longest thereof reaches a length of 1000 leagues. In two sub-sections following a brief description will be given of the diverse rivers and springs and streams which are found in the kingdom of Īrān; and also of those in the neighbouring lands which are celebrated throughout Īrān: and this description we have divided into two parts, namely that of the Greater and that of the Lesser Rivers.

**The Great Rivers.** Of the larger streams which flow through Īrān, and through the neighbouring lands being held famous throughout this kingdom, there are in all thirty-five rivers. Now some of these, it is true, do not traverse the country of Īrān, or even its neighbouring lands—and the chief object of this work is indeed limited to setting forth matters pertaining especially to Īrān. But according to Qazvini mention occurs of some of these rivers in the Traditions of the Prophets—upon whom be peace—as for example where he said *The Sayhān and the Jayhān, the Euphrates [٢٠٩] and the Nile, are all of them of the Rivers of Paradise*, and of these the Nile does not in its course reach the land of Īrān, though it is one of the most celebrated of all the rivers. Hence, and because of its having been thus alluded to in the speech of the blessed Prophet, it will be incumbent to notice this river as well as those others, and describe them—since he has mentioned them—from source to outflow: after which, if it please God, we will return to the alphabetical order of the names.

**Sayhān and Jayhān** (Sarus and Pyramus). These are two rivers of Asia Minor. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm*, and by Ibn Khurdādhbih, it is reported that the Sayhān rises in those far lands, and passing many provinces where other streams join it, it finally flows out to the Mediterranean. The Jayhān rises above Maṣṣīṣah, and

flowing through the Constantinople province and other districts of Asia Minor, joins the Bustān (Albistān) stream, and then passes the Valley of Wind<sup>1</sup>, whence it falls out to the Mediterranean Sea. The learned for the most part agree that these are the two rivers which are alluded to in the Tradition aforesaid of the Prophet—on whom be peace—but some assert contrariwise that the Tradition refers to the Sayhūn and Jayhūn (the Jaxartes and Oxus). The first attribution, however, is the more reliable, by reason of the greater appropriateness (in situation of the Sayhān and Jayhān): but God alone knows the real truth.

**Furāt** (the Euphrates). This river is most celebrated, and the Persians pronounce the name Fālād. It is called Furāt by reason of the excellence and wholesomeness of its water, for every stream whose water is limpid and sweet and wholesome they call Furāt: as is said in the Qurān (ch. XXXV. v. 13) *The one (stream) fresh, sweet (furāt) pleasant for drink, and the other (stream is) salt and bitter*. This river passes along the western boundary of Īrān, flowing from north to south. It takes its rise in the mountains of Armenia, and of Qālīqalā, and of Arzan-ar-Rūm. At its source there is a great pool that measures 250 ells in circuit, and so great is the stream of water flowing out of this that a horse can hardly ford it. Below various other springs and streams join it, and it becomes a mighty river. It traverses the province of Rūm (Asia Minor), and flowing at the distance of a league by Arzanjān passes out of the province of Rūm in the neighbourhood of Malaṭiyah and comes to Sumaysāt (on the borders of) Syria. In this quarter it is joined by the streams from Sanjah, Kaysūm, Dīʿān<sup>2</sup> and other such places, and flowing on passes Raqqah, Raḥbah, Ānah, and Hit. Then in the Sawād district, which at the present day is known as the Ghāzānī domain, [۱۰۰] numerous canals are taken from the Euphrates; such are the ʿĪsā Canal, the Šaršar, and the Nahr Malik, also the Nahr Nāḥiyah (the District Canal) on which lies the city of Kūfah with its dependencies; then follow the Sūrā Canal, the Kūthā, the Nars, the Šarāt and the Old Furāt Canal. After this, in the Wāsiṭ province, the Euphrates falls into the Swamps. It leaves these again below the Maṭārah village; and there it joins the river Tigris, the united streams becoming the Shatt-al-ʿArab, which after passing Baṣrah flows out into the Persian Gulf. The length of the Euphrates is 400 leagues.

There are many Traditions and Sayings (of the Prophet) in its honour. Thus Yāqūt reports on the authority of ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn ʿUmayr that the Prophet—upon whom be peace—said; *Verily the Euphrates is one of the rivers of Paradise; and were it not for the pollution which contaminates it, no sick man would physic himself therewith, but God would give him healing:*

<sup>1</sup> Both names uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Name uncertain, many variants.



*verily too there is here an angel by whom all sickness is banished.* Also, according to Qazvinī, it is reported that the Caliph ʿAlī said, *O people of Kūfah, verily into this your river there flow two Canals from Paradise.* And from the Imām Jaʿfar-aṣ-Ṣādiq it is related that he drank of the water of the Euphrates, and twice or thrice he drank again, praising and belauding the same, and said, *How great is the blessing thereof; did but the people know what a blessing there is in its waters, they would build on its banks two cupolas, and but for the sinners who enter the same, he who bathed there, being sick, would of a certainty become healed*<sup>1</sup>.

**The Nile.** Its waters are wholesome and sweet, to the extent that to strangers it seems as though they had been artificially sweetened. Ibn Khurdādhbih states that the Nile rises in the Mountains of the Moon, on the further side of the equator. It flows from south to north, and when it reaches this side of the equator, its streams come together to form two Lakes. Leaving these Lakes it passes beside the deserts of the Zanj, and of Abyssinia, and of Nubia, till it reaches the kingdom of Egypt, and here it is greater in size than the Shaṭṭ-al-ʿArab (Euphrates and Tigris Estuary). Then it divides into seven channels: the first is that going to Alexandria, the next to Damietta, the third by Memphis, the fourth is that of Fustāṭ and the Fayyūm district, which same is that of the city of Cairo, the fifth goes by ʿArish, the sixth by Sardūs, and the seventh is that of Manhā. Throughout the whole [٢١١] of Egypt, during the three summer months when the river is in flood, it inundates all the lands; then during the three autumn months, when the river is low, they sow their fields and have no need for irrigation. And this is what is referred to in the words of the Qurān (ch. XXXII. v. 27) where God says, *See they not how we drive the rain to some parched land, and thereby bring forth corn of which their cattle and themselves do eat? Will they not then behold?* Throughout all the lands of this kingdom they have set up statues to mark the boundaries: and the Caliph Mamūn built in the Nile bed a mosque, it being of black marble, and on its wall were measurements marked in ells and inches to show the height of the water. If it rose to 14 ells, then it would be a year of medium cultivation; if more, then a year of greater abundance; if less, then a year of lesser cultivation; and there was fear of famine until the height of 17 ells was reached. On this measurement the government imposts were assessed. All lands that were inundated by the water above 17 ells were free of impost, and therefore this was called 'the Lord's inundation'. If the water attained a height of 20 ells, then all

<sup>1</sup> In some MSS. a number of other Traditions are given.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Jubayy, writing in 579 (1183) and describing the inundation, states that 17 ells gave the best crops, and that the inundation above 16 ells paid the Kharāj (Land-tax) to the Sultan, while if it fell below 16 ells no taxes were levied that year.

the lands of Egypt were in danger of excessive flooding. During the six months of winter and spring, the water of the Nile is extremely low. Now its water is so sweet, that the trees bearing the bitter-pomegranate, which are watered by it, become sweet-pomegranates, and hence in Egypt the bitter-pomegranate is very rare and much sought after. In the *Jāmiʿ-al-Hikāyāt* and by Qazvīni it is reported that in the times of Ignorance (before Islam) whenever the Nile would not rise it was customary to throw into its waters a maiden, of great beauty, arrayed in her finest clothes and with her jewels. Now in the days of the Caliph ʿOmar this lack of the inundation having occurred, ʿAmr, who was the governor of Egypt appointed by him, wrote and laid the facts of the case before ʿOmar. The answer came back, that they should write on a potsherd as follows—*From the Servant of God ʿOmar son of Al-Khaṭṭāb, to the Nile of Egypt: and after this, verily if thou dost run thy course by thine own will, then refrain from running; but if it so be that God Almighty, and He only, caused thee to flow, then hereby we do pray to God that He, the Almighty, will cause thee again to run thy course.* This script therefore they threw into the Nile, which forthwith began to rise in inundation and never again failed<sup>1</sup>. [۱۱۱] The length of the Nile is near to a thousand leagues; and in it live the Crocodile and the Saqanqūr (or Crocodile-newt), also diverse kinds of fish. For the space of one league above Cairo, and to one league below the same, they have laid an incantation (on the Nile stream) which is a preservative from all harm that the Crocodiles can do.

**The Itil (Volga).** The head streams of this river take their rise in the mountains of the Ās and Rūs (Ossetes and Russians), and in Bulghār, and in the Qirghīz lands, and in Salangā and Kaymāk. After watering all these lands the streams come together to form one great river, so great indeed that it is said that no river is greater than this. Then some seventy and more channels branch from it, one of which is so broad that a horse cannot easily ford it, and many populous countries and plains lie on its banks. Of these diverse channels some flow out to the Sea of Ghālātiqūn, which same is also known as the Sea of Varāng<sup>2</sup>, and some flow to the Eastern Sea; but the main stream of the Volga pours into the Khazar (or Caspian) Sea. By reason of the exceeding strength and volume of its current, this may be perceived for more than ten leagues out in the Caspian, by the colour and movement of the water. The length of this river is 300 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. have for the foregoing the following, which appears to be the Shiʿah tradition, due to hatred of ʿOmar: 'And the Caliph answered that even in the way that it had been done aforetimes, now also should it be so done. However, in such fashion it was not ever accomplished; and indeed this account is worthy of little credit.'

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 230.

**River Atrak.** This river rises in Khurāsān, in the mountains of Abīvard and Nisā. Passing Khabūshān, it comes to the Dihistān frontier, and then falls into the Caspian. Its length is 120 leagues: it is a very deep river and hardly anywhere is it possible to ford it. On its banks, for the most part, (the traveller) is never free from fear of highwaymen.

**Aras River (Araxes).** This flows from south to north, and takes its rise in the mountains of Qālīqalā and Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum). It passes by the provinces of Armenia, Ādharbāy-jān and Arrān. Then it joins the waters of the Kur (Cyrus river), and the Qarā Sū, and finally in the Gushtāsfī country flows out into the Caspian. In all those countries which lie along its banks there is found much cultivation, and the length of its course is 150 leagues. Qazvīnī states that whosoever passes across this river in such a manner that only the lower half of his body be wetted by the water, if he then place his foot on the back of a woman who is in labour of child-bearing, then her bringing forth will become easy. And in certain other books it is said that anyone who suffers from the disease of the Rishtah (guinea-worm), and passes through this river, no sooner has his foot touched its waters than, by God's command, his complaint will leave him.

**Īlāq River.** This is of Turkistān, and in the *Karshāsf Nāmah* it is said that it extends far back into China. [۲۱۳]

**River Būy (Zarafshān).** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is said that this rises in the Buttam mountains, and in Ṣaghāniyān. It there forms a Lake, and after passing out of this many fine water channels are taken from it, such as the canals of Barash, Bārmash, Bashmīn, Qayy and Būzmājīn. Numerous well-cultivated districts occur along these canals, and every one of these channels is so broad that it cannot easily be forded. The main stream of the river then passes down through the province of Sughd, going by Samarqand and Bukhārā: and the fertility of those districts depends on that river. Its stagnant waters drain off towards Nasaf: and finally in the Bukhārā district, it joins the Oxus, by which its waters ultimately reach the Caspian. The length of this river is not known.

**Baradān River (Cydnus).** This rises in Asia Minor, and flows out to the Mediterranean Sea.

**Tājah (Tagus).** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is said that the Tagus is the river which takes its rise in the mountains of Andalusia by Toledo and Silves. It is almost as great a river as the Tigris. After passing through Spain it flows out to the Ocean, its length being 100 leagues.

**River Jayhūn (Oxus).** This is also known as the Āmūyah, and its (head waters) are formed by the junction of six streams. It is a very famous river, and it forms the eastern boundary of Īrān, flowing from south to north. One of its head streams comes

down from the mountains of Tibet, another is from the hills of Badakhshān, a third from the Ṣaghāniyān frontiers, and a fourth is from the limits of Khutlān. Each one of these, prior to its junction with the main river, receives many minor streams, and certain of these have their courses through the lands of Balkh and Tirmid. After all these streams have come together, the Oxus passes through the Narrows, which are known as the Defile of the Lion's Mouth. This is near the village of Būqshah, which is a dependency of Hazārasp. This defile runs between two mountains, which approach so near one to the other that the space in between is barely 100 ells across. The water rushes through with a mighty roar, and then is lost underground in the sands. Here for the space of a league it is no longer visible: and there is no possibility of crossing the sands above. (When the stream has come again to view) many great canals are led off from the Oxus, beside which stand mighty towns and many cultivated lands. Of such are the Canal of Gāv Khuwārah, the Hazārasp Stream, that of Kardurān Khās, the Karīh Canal, the Khivah Canal and others, and in each of them boats can with ease pass along. Some of these canals have their outflow [۱۱۴] to the Khwārazm Lake (the Aral), but the main stream of the Oxus after passing the city of Khwārazm, flows down the Ḥalam gorge, which in Turkī is called Kūrlādī<sup>1</sup>. Here at a league's distance, or even three leagues away, you may hear the rushing of the waters. Finally the Oxus flows out to the Sea of Khazar (the Caspian), at a place called Khalkhāl, which is a fishing-station; and from the city of Khwārazm to its mouth in the Caspian is a distance of six days' march. The whole length of the Oxus is 500 leagues. In winter time the water is so fast frozen that, in many places, caravans can cross on the surface of the ice. The wells there descend to a depth of several ells, in order to get to water.

**Jurjān River.** This rises in the Asand mountains of Māzandarān, from the valley of Shahrak-Naw; and passing the Maydān (plain) of Sulṭān Darīn comes to Jurjān city; after which it flows out to the Caspian. But little of the water of this river is used for irrigation, and most of it runs to waste. Its stream is very deep, its banks are steep, and for this reason it is very dangerous to ford, so that no day passes without someone being drowned in its waters. The length of this river is 50 leagues.

**Dijlah (Tigris).** Of Baghdād. This rises in the mountains (to the north) of Āmid, in the chain forming the frontier of Ḥiṣn Dhū-l-Qarnayn (the Castle of Alexander). Many streams join its current as it passes through the districts of Rūm (Asia

<sup>1</sup> Of both these names there are many variants. On the question whether the Oxus, at this date ran out to the Aral or to the Caspian, see *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 456.

Minor) and Armenia to Mayyāfāriqīn, whence it comes to Ḥiṣn (Kayfā). Then before reaching the province of Arabian ʿIrāq, the streams coming from Armenia flow in; while below Baghdād the Nahrawān Canal joins it. Below Wāsīt five considerable canals are taken from its stream, namely, the Daqlā Canal, the ʿrāf Canal, with the Jaʿfar, the Maysān, and the Sāsī Canals; until in consequence so little water remains in its main channel that boats can no longer pass down. Below the village of Maṭārah<sup>1</sup> (after leaving the Swamps) the remaining waters of the Tigris are joined by the Euphrates stream coming (also) from the Swamps; then further down it is joined by the rivers that flow down from Khūzistān, and all these go to form the Shaṭṭ-al-ʿArab (the Tigris Estuary) which below Basrah finally flows out into the Persian Gulf. The length of the Tigris is 300 leagues. In Persian it is known [ریو] as the Arvand River: and in the *Shāh Nāmāh*<sup>2</sup> Firdawsī has these verses:

*Now when Farīdūn had overpassed the Arvand River  
He bade goodbye to his royal fortune.*

**Dujayl** (the Little Tigris or Kārūn river) of Tustar. This rises in the Zardah Kūh (Yellow Mountain) of the range in Great Lur, and after flowing some 30 odd leagues it reaches the city of Tustar. Now the distance hither is so short that its waters are still quite cold, and they greatly aid digestion; whereby the country folk in these hot lands relying on their digestive properties are enabled to eat great quantities of rich food. Below Tustar king Sapor II built the Weir (Shādravān) across the river, and divided the stream into three parts, (two of which) he caused to flow round and about Tustar. One of these, called the Chahār Dānik (Four-sixths), in its upper channel flowed to the west of the city; while the other, namely the Dū Dānik (Two-sixths) canal, in a newly dug channel flowed to the east of the town. Both channels came together again near Lashkar, and here they were joined by the Dizfūl and Karkhah rivers, after which the united streams flowed out to the Shaṭṭ-al-ʿArab (Tigris Estuary). The length of the Tustar river is 80 leagues.

**Dizfūl River.** This is also known as the Junday Shāpūr river. It rises in the mountains of Greater Lur, and passing by (the towns of) Jundī Shāpūr and Dizfūl it joins the Tustar river in the Masruqān country, and flows out to the Tigris Estuary. Its total length is 60 leagues.

**The Two Zābs.** These take their name from Zāb who was

<sup>1</sup> Maṭārah (already mentioned, p. 202, and agam p. 226) according to Qazvīnī was a day's march from Basrah, and must have occupied, approximately, the position of modern Qurnah, where by its present and eastern course the Tigris joins the Euphrates. In the eighth (fourteenth) century, as our author states, the Tigris still passed down into the Swamps by the Wāsīt canal.

<sup>2</sup> These lines do not appear to be given in the Turner Maṣnawī edition.

son of king Tahmāsp the Pīshdādiān. One of the two rivers is called the Greater Zāb, and it rises in the mountains of Armenia. It flows down through the Diyār Bakr province, and joins the Tigris near Ḥadīthah. Its length is 80 leagues. The other river is called the Mad Zāb, because its current is extremely swift. It too rises in the Armenian mountains, flowing down through Armenia into the Diyār Bakr province where, near the Hill of Sinn, it joins the Tigris. Its length is 30 leagues. The poet Ibn Mufarrigh has said, alluding to this same river :

*Verily (Ibn Zubayr) who, when living, was ever faithless to  
his word,  
Has died like a slave, slain by God; on the banks of the Zāb  
river.*

**Razīq (wrongly Zarīq) River.** In Khurāsān: and it is also known as the Murghāb, the origin of the name being Marv-āb (Marv river). According to some it is at the source that this river is known as Murghāb; and it is called Razīq because in the village [ريزق] of Razīq its waters are divided up (into irrigation channels). It rises in the Murghāb and Bādghīsh mountains, and after passing Marv-ar-Rūd (Little Marv) flows through part of Khurāsān, when it comes to (Great) Marv. The prosperity of the district of Marv depends upon its stream. King Yazdajird (the last of the Sassanians) was slain in a mill that is upon this river, an event that is alluded to by the poet Nāfi<sup>c</sup> ibn Aswad of the Tamīm in these lines :

*And Yazdajird we slew with a cutting blow,  
When in fear he turned to flee, seeking a refuge,  
And his people we slew in battle, grinding them as a mill-stone  
grinds,  
On the Day of Razīq, when they would have returned to the  
charge<sup>1</sup>.*

The length of the Murghāb river is 30 leagues.

**Zindah Rūd (or River) of Iṣfahān.** Its waters rise in the Kūh Zardah (Yellow Mountain), and other ranges of Greater Lur, in the Jūy-i-Sard (Cold Stream) district. It passes through Luristān and the Rūdbār district, and thence comes to Fīrūzān and Iṣfahān. Below this in the Rūdasht district its waters disappear in the Gāv Khānī Swamp. Its total length is 70 leagues. This river has the peculiarity that when from the one source its waters fail, then (from its affluent) the Zahāb Rūd sufficient water flows to keep its stream in full flood; and it is from this reason that it is known as the Zāyandah Rūd (Living Stream). Further, because in the sowing time, none of its waters are wasted, but all are used up in irrigation channels, it is also known as the Zarīn

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic text of these verses (cf. Yaq. II. 777, and Qaz. I. 179) is corrupt, and the translation tentative.

Rūd (the Golden River). Ibn Khurdādbih and Qazvīnī both assert that 60 leagues beyond the Gāv Khānī Swamp this same river reappears in the province of Kirmān, and thence finally flows out into the Eastern Sea. It is also stated that in times past bits of reed, marked with a sign, were thrown into its waters in the Gāv Khānī Swamp, and afterwards were recovered in Kirmān. None the less this account is hardly to be credited, for in between the Gāv Khānī Swamp and Kirmān the soil is very hard, and there are high mountains, and no underground passage through them, by which so large a body of water could pass, is possible. Further the land in Kirmān is higher than the land of the Gāv Khānī Swamp. Then again from Kirmān to the Eastern Sea is in truth also a very great distance, with many countries lying in between, so that if indeed the river flowed after this fashion it would have to traverse all these countries: and yet it is nowhere visible in these parts. Lastly, in years of drought, when the ground of the Gāv [رۈ] Khānī Swamp dries up, it is not found that there is any such exit-passage for the waters visible in its bottom.

**Zakān (Thakān) River.** Of Fārs. It rises in the mountain of (the village of) Dih Khusrūyah, and waters the plains and district of Māsaram, Kavār, Khabr, Šimkān, Kārzīn, Qīr, Abzar and Lāghir; also a portion of the Sīrāf district. In this latter country the streams from the hills thereof join the Zakān river, and last of all it passes the village called Zakān (Thakān), from which same the river takes its name. Finally, in between Najīran and Sīrāf it falls out into the Persian Gulf; and in all this land there is no river that is more beneficial than this. The length of its course is 50 leagues.

**Safīd Rūd.** The Turks call this river Hūlān Mūrān<sup>1</sup>, and it rises in the mountains of Panj Angusht, which in Turkish are called Besh Parmāq, (signifying in either case 'the Five Fingers';) which are in Kurdistān. Then it is joined by the Zanjān river, by the Hasht Rūd, the Miyānij river, also by the streams flowing down from the mountains of Tālīsh and the Two Tārums. In the district of Barah, which is of the Two Tārums, it is joined by the Shāhrūd river, and then flows out to the Caspian near Kawtām in Gīlān. Its length is 100 leagues, and of its waters hardly any is used for irrigation, except for that little which waters the lands lying immediately along its bed, and most of it is wasted.

**River Sayhūn (Jaxartes).** This is of Mā-warā-n-Nahr (Trans-oxiana), and this province is named Mā-warā-n-Nahr (What is beyond the River) because to the west of it flows the Oxus, while to the east of it flows the Jaxartes, and thus from either side it is regarded as the Land beyond the River. The people of the

<sup>1</sup> Ulan Mören, in Mongol; meaning 'Red River.'

country called the Jaxartes by the name Gul Zaryūn<sup>1</sup>. It rises among the snows, then its stream passes Khujand and Fanākat, and finally reaches the Khwārazm Lake (Aral). This river too, like the Oxus, freezes so hard in winter that at many places caravans cross on the ice. The length of this river is 80 leagues.

**Shāsh River**<sup>2</sup>. Of Transoxiana; it rises in the mountains of Jidghil, and after being joined by the Khūshāb river, also by the streams from Ūsh, it passes through Farghānah by Ūzkand and Marghanān. After watering many districts it finally flows out to the Aral Sea, and its length is 40 leagues.

**Shāhrūd River**. In the Rūdbār district of Qazvīn are two torrents, one coming down from the Tāliqān hills of Qazvīn, the other from the Nasr (Vulture) and Takhmas<sup>3</sup> [تخماس] mountains. In the Rūdbār district the Shāhrūd passes Alamūt, and then in the district of Barah, which is of the Two Tārums, it flows into the Safīd Rūd, and thus its waters finally reach the Caspian at Kawtam in Gilān. The length of the Shāhrūd, to its junction with the Safīd Rūd, is 35 leagues, and to the Caspian in all 50 leagues: also like the Safīd Rūd this river for the most part runs to waste, and is not used in irrigating the fields upon its banks, except to a very small degree.

**The River ‘Āṣī (Orontes)**. In Syria. Its source is in the Ba‘albak mountain, after which it passes the districts of Hims and Hamāh and other Syrian towns. Then penetrating into the lands of (the Greek Emperor) Nicephorus, and to Sīs which is of Little Armenia, it finally flows out to the Mediterranean. Now this river is called ‘Āṣī (‘the Rebel’) for the reason that while most of the great rivers flow from the Infidel lands into the Moslem country, this contrariwise flows away from the Moslems to the Infidels.

**The Farah River**. This rises in the mountain of the Ghūr country; and after passing many districts, which it irrigates, such of its waters as are left flow out into the Zarah Lake of Sīstān. It is not known how many leagues in length it is.

**River Qārā Murān**<sup>4</sup>. This is a great stream of the province of Khitāy (China): and so broad that it can only be passed by boat.

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Blochet this would mean in Mongol ‘the Cold, or Fresh, River.’ *Gul*, otherwise *Gūl* or *Guent*, primarily meaning a lake, is, like the Persian *Daryā*, applied to any great stream. *Zaryūn* is the Mongol *Serikūn* (with the *k* elided, as in *Hūlāū* for *Hūlāgū*), meaning ‘cold, agreeably fresh and pleasant.’ The name *Gul Zaryūn*, however, does not appear to be mentioned by any other authority.

<sup>2</sup> This apparently is meant for the Turk River of Tāshkand, but the Shāsh River is, as a rule, merely another name for the Sayhūn or Jaxartes. The whole matter here is confused; the lengths given (80 and 40 leagues) show clearly how inexact the account is; and Hāmid Allah evidently imagined that the Shāsh, or Turk, River which flows into the Jaxartes at Tāshkand, was a river having its separate outflow to the Aral Sea.

<sup>3</sup> Names uncertain; many variants.

<sup>4</sup> In Mongol *Qārā Mören*, meaning ‘Black River,’ the name given to the Hwang Ho, the Yellow River, of the Chinese, ‘the Great River Caramoran’ of Marco Polo (Yule, II. 17).



**Qirghīz River**<sup>1</sup>. This flows to the eastward of Turḡistān, and is a great river.

**Karkhah River**. This is also known as the River of Sūs. It rises in the Alvand mountain near Hamadān, and it is joined by the streams from Dīnavar; also by the rivers Kūlkū and Sīlākhūr, the Khurramābād river and the Kazhkī. It next passes down to the Ḥawīzah district, where it joins the streams from Tustar and Dizfūl, flowing out finally to the Shaṭṭ-al-<sup>c</sup>Arab (Tigris Estuary). The length of the Karkhah to its junction with the Shaṭṭ-al-<sup>c</sup>Arab is 120 leagues.

**River Kur (Cyrus) of Arrān**. This rises in the mountains of Qālīqalā, and when it comes to the province of Gurjistān (Georgia) passes through the city of Tiflīs, and then reaches the province of Arrān. Here one branch of the river flows off into the Shamkūr Lake (or swamp); while the branch of the main stream at Yūrt Bāzār Anbārjī after being joined by the river Aras with the Qarā Sū, finally, in the Gushtāsfī country, flows out to the Caspian. The length of the Kur is 200 leagues.

**River Kur (Cyrus) of Fārs**<sup>2</sup>. This rises in the Kallār district in Fārs; and it is joined by the streams from Shi<sup>c</sup>b Bavvān, and from Māyin, and by other small rivers of these parts. [۲۱۹] The Cyrus river is niggardly, and, till dams have been thrown across it, irrigates no lands. Now of the dams that have been built on it, the first is the Band-i-Rāmjird, which dates from ancient days and in the times of the Saljūqs fell to ruin: whereupon the Atabeg Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāulī caused it to be restored, and after him it was named the Fakhristān Dam. Another dam is the Band-i-<sup>c</sup>Aḡudī, the like of which cannot be matched in all the world for strength and excellence of construction. It serves to send water into the district of Upper Kirbāl. Then there is the Band-i-Qaṣṣār (the Fuller's Dam), which serves the cultivated lands of the Lower Kirbāl district; this too had fallen to decay and it was restored by the above named Atabeg Chāulī. After the Kur river has passed these dams it finally falls out into Lake Bakhtigān, and its total length is 113 leagues.

**Gang (Ganges)**. The river of India. This rises in the mountains that lie between China and India: and the people of India hold this river to be most blessed, even as the Moslems do the (Sayḥān and Jayḥān) rivers of Asia Minor, affirming that its source is from Paradise. They will carry away its water, even for a distance of 200 leagues, on account of the sanctity thereof. Their great people and holy men, when they come to die, are washed with its waters, and they bring their winding sheets to dip them in the same; further, they lave their temples therewith. The length of the Ganges is 300 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> An affluent of the Salangā River.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Fārs Nāmah*, 869.

**Mīhrān River** (Indus). It is also called the Sind River, and it further is known as the Jilum (Jhelam). It rises in the mountains between Sīstān and Badakhshān: and here, while the Indus flows away from the southern slope, the Oxus has its sources upon the northern slope of these same mountains. The river Indus, after passing Samandūr and Maṣṣūrah, skirts Makrān and the Daybul districts, and at a distance of two leagues from Daybul flows out into the Indian Sea. Its length is 180 leagues, and it is twice as broad as the Tigris; further, like the Nile, its waters inundate the land on its banks, and thus these are fertilized for cultivation.

**Nahrawān River.** In Arabian 'Irāq. It has two head streams, both of which rise in the Kurdistān mountains. One stream is from the Shīrvān district, and there it is called the Shīrvān river: when this reaches Tāmarrah it is known as the Tāmarrah river, and when finally it comes to join the other branch, it then takes the name of Nahrawān. The other head stream rises in the district of Gil and Gilān, in the pass called Girīvah-i-Ṭāq-i-Girrā (namely of the White Marble Arch): and its source is at a great spring, that would be sufficient to turn ten water-mills. It then passes Hulwān, and Qaṣr-i-Shīrīn and Khāniqīn [۱۰۰], and beyond this joins the first mentioned stream, when it comes to Baḳūbā and Nahrawān town. Finally below Baghdād (the combined streams) flow out into the Tigris. The total length is 50 leagues, and it irrigates many lands.

**River Harī Rūd** (Herāt river). This rises in the mountains of Ghūr, near the Guard-house called Rubāṭ Kardān. Many affluents join it, and then nine canals are drawn from it. The first of these is called the Naw Jūy (New Canal), the second is the Adhrijān, the third the Lashkargān, the fourth the Karāgh canal, the fifth is that of Ghūsmān, the sixth of Kanak, the seventh of Safghar, the eighth is the Anjīr (Fig) canal which waters Herāt city, and the ninth is the Bārasht. On (the lower reach of) the Harī Rūd lie many fertile districts, such as those of Fūshanj and others, and after this river has passed Herāt it comes to Sarakhs, (beyond which it flows into the swamps). Its total length is 83 leagues.

**River Hirmand** (Helmand). This is also known as the Zarah river, and it rises in the mountains of Ghūr. After it has passed Bust, some canals are taken from it, each so great that a horse can with difficulty ford the same, and on these canals lie many fertile districts. The Hirmand river next enters the Sīstān province, which it serves to irrigate, and then its remaining waters flow out to the Zarah Lake. The total length of this river is 135 leagues.

## CHAPTER XIX

Lesser Rivers. Jāyij-Rūd. The Qum river. The Gāvmāsā. Zanjān river. Streams of the Two Tāruns. The Kāshān river. Muzdaqān and the Lake of Sāvah. The Qazvīn rivers. The rivers of Ādharbāyjān. The Āhar river. The Sarāv and other streams flowing into the Lake of Ūrmīyah. The Marand river. The rivers of Miyānj. The rivers of Fārs, Shabānkārah and Kirmān. The Pulvāi. Tāb, Shīn and Jurah rivers. The Ratīn and Jarshīq. The Dīv Rūd. The Shāpūr river. The Burāzah. The rivers of Upper Mesopotamia. Balikh and Khābūr. The Humās and the Sūr. Rivers of Khurāsān. Rivers Shūrah and Dizbād, with other streams round Nīshāpūr. The Wakhshāb and the Jaghān Rūd. The rivers of Ālābuan 'Irāq. The rivers of Bayāt, Daqūq, and of Barāz-ar-Rūz

But now as regards the smaller rivers, with their springs and sources; and the following are in Persian 'Irāq.

**River Jāyij-Rūd.** This rises in Mount Damāvand, and flows through the Ray province. In the districts of Upper Qūhad and Asān its waters are divided up and diverted into near forty channels, which serve to irrigate most of the Ray province. In spring time its flood waters make their way out into the desert. Its total length is 30 leagues.

**Karah-Rūd.** This rises in the Tāliqān and Qazvīn mountains. In the Sāuj Bulāgh district many water channels are led from it, whereby most of the lands of the Ray and Shahriyār districts are irrigated. In spring its overflow reaches the desert, and its length is 25 leagues.

**Qum-Rūd.** It rises in the mountains of Khānīsār and Lālistān, in the Jurbādaqān district. It flows past the towns of Jurbādaqān and Qum, whence its flood waters reach the desert. [۲۰۱] Its length is 30 leagues.

**River Gāvmāsā-Rūd (or Gāvmāsāb).** For the most part its streams rise in the Alvand mountain of Hamadān, one of them coming down from the Asadābād Pass, being the Māmshān-Rūd of Farīvar in the Hamadān district; while another of its streams is from the mountain of Rāsmān and the other hills near Karaj. After passing to the meadow lands of Kītū, this branch comes to Hamadān, and thence to the Sāvah districts. But when the river reaches the neighbourhood of Āvah and Sāvah it forms a Lake behind the dam which the late Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, Ṣāhib Dīvān (the Prime Minister) caused to be built, to hold back its waters. In the spring floods, however, these flow out into the desert, after passing by the bridge called Haftād Pūlān (Seventy Arches), which stands between Sāvah and Āvah, and which was built by the Atabeg Shīrgīr. The irrigation of the

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lands of Āvāh and Sāvah during the summer droughts depends on this dam. The total length of this river is 40 leagues: and for all the Sāvah district this river is as important as is the Zāyandah-Rūd (for the Isfahān districts).

**Zanjān Rūd.** This river also goes by the name of the Māj-Rūd. It rises in the district round Sulṭāniyyah, and after being joined by many streams from the Zanjān hills, it passes through the districts of Zanjān, and finally flows into the Safīd Rūd. Its length is 20 leagues, and for 10 leagues below its sources it serves to irrigate the lands that lie along its banks.

**Abhar-Rūd.** This river rises in the Allāh Akbar district of Sulṭāniyyah in Mount Sarāhand, and it flows out into the Qazvīn district. In the spring floods its waters here join the streams from the Qazvīn hills, and then are lost in the desert. The length of the Abhar river is 20 leagues; and this river also, in regard to the Abhar and Qazvīn districts, is a fount of abundance, as is the Zāyandah Rūd (for Isfahān).

**Kharūd River.** This rises in the hills of the Kharūd district, and comes down to the districts of Rāmand and Dashtī near Qazvīn. Its waters in the spring freshets flow out to the desert, and its length is 25 leagues.

**Rivers of the Two Ṭārums.** These all rise in the hills of the Two Ṭārum districts and their dependencies, and flow out to join the Safīd Rūd, irrigating the corn-lands of the Ṭārums on their courses. In summer most of their waters are thus used up for irrigation, and little flows out into the Safīd Rūd, but in the spring freshets a major quantity of water drains thereto.

**Kāshān River.** This rises in the hills of Nayāsīr and Qumsār, flowing down to Kāshān. In the spring freshets its waters flow out to the desert: and at that time if the flood is heavy [۱۱۱] the city of Kāshān runs great danger of an inundation. In summer, however, the stream does not get even as far as Kāshān, being used up for irrigating the lands of the villages above the city.

**Muzdaqān River.** This rises in the Kharraqān hills near Hamadān. It next passes through Muzdaqān, and then comes to Sāvah and its district. In the Days of Ignorance (before Islam) its surplus waters here formed the Lake of Sāvah, but now, through the miracle performed by the Prophet (at the time of his birth) this Lake has come to be dried up, and on its site the city of Sāvah has been built. The waters of the river having been thus caused to pass on, now flow out to the desert, and its total length is 25 leagues.

**Būh Rūd.** This river rises in the hills of Ṭāliqān, and it flows out through the Qazvīn district. In the spring freshets its waters reach the desert, but in the summer droughts they do not get beyond the neighbourhood of Qazvīn.

**Kardān-Rūd.** This river rises in the hills of Ṭāliqān, and flows through the Ray district. In spring the freshets reach the desert.

**TurkĀn-Rūd.** This river rises in the hills of Kharraqān and flows to the Qazvīn district. Its waters in the spring freshets reach the desert, where they become lost: but in the summer drought they do not get beyond the neighbourhood of Qazvīn.

**The Qazvīn Rivers.** These are four in number: and if they are full of water the gardens of Qazvīn have plentiful irrigation, but if otherwise, then many gardens suffer drought. In the summer season the waters of these streams, by reason of the numerous farms above Qazvīn, never reach the city, and that there should then be any flood water is very unusual.

**Kharraqān River.** This rises in the hills of the district of that name, and during the spring floods its waters flow through the bed of the Khushk Rūd (the Dry River) down to the district of Ray; where, after being joined by other streams, the flood water finally reaches the desert. In the summer time, however, this stream never gets beyond the borders of the Kharraqān district.

The Rivers of Ādharbāyjān.

**Andarāb River.** This rises in Mount Sablān, and when it passes the city and district of Ardabīl it is known as the Ardabīl river, but when it reaches Andarāb it is called the Andarāb river. After passing under the Bridge of ʿAlī Shāh it joins the Āhar river, which flows out to the Aras. Its length is 25 leagues.

**Āhar River.** This rises in the Pass of the Armenians, which the Mongols call Gūkchah Nīl (the Blue Lake), its head spring being in that district. The river then flows past the town of Āhar, and the Castle of Naw Diz, and next by the [۱۷۳] village of Bahlaqān, which has been named also the Village of the Šāhib Dīvān (Prime Minister). Thence it flows to join the Andarāb river, and so finally to the Aras. Its length is 20 leagues.

**Ūjān River.** This rises in Mount Sahand, and after passing Ūjān town, joins the Sarāv river. Its length is 7 leagues.

**Jaghtū River.** This rises in the Kurdistān mountains in the district of the Siyāh Kūh (Black Mountain) village. Thence it flows to the neighbourhood of Marāghah, and there joins the rivers Šāfi and Taghtū, flowing out finally to the Salt Lake of ʿTarūj (or ʿTasūj; the Urmīyah Lake). Its length is 20 leagues.

**Sarāv Rūd.** This river rises in Mount Sablān, and after passing through the town of Sarāv comes in the neighbourhood of the village of Kūlvānah to the salt marshes, by reason of which its waters afterwards are salt. Here it is joined by the Ūjān River, and next flowing past Tabrīz, it finally reaches the Urmīyah Lake: its total length being 40 leagues.

**Sard Rūd (Cold River) and Bāvīl Rūd.** These rivers rise in Mount Sahand and passing through the lands above mentioned, flow out during the spring freshet into the Sarāv river, and thence to the Urmīyah Lake. In length these rivers are 6 leagues.

**Sarjīdah and Gadīv** (or Kadpū). These are two rivers in their origin, but soon join their streams, and then flow into the Safīd Rūd. Their length is 8 leagues.

**Šāfi**. This river rises in Mount Sahand, and passing Marāghah is joined by the Taghtū, after which it flows out to the Lake of Urmīyah. Its length is 20 leagues.

**Shāl Rūd**. This river rises in the Shāl hills, and in the neighbourhood of Barandaq flows into the Safīd Rūd. Its length is 8 leagues.

**Mard Rūd**. This river rises in Mount Sahand, and after passing by Marāghah joins the Jaghtū river in the valley of Gāv Davān, and thence flows out to the Urmīyah Lake. Its length is 8 leagues.

**Garm Rūd** (Hot River). This rises in the mountains of Sarāv, and in the Garm Rūd district joins the Miyānij river, which afterwards flows out to the Safīd Rūd. Its length is 12 leagues.

**Mihrān Rūd**. This rises in Mount Sahand and then loses itself among the gardens of Tabrīz; but during the spring floods its surplus waters join the river Sarāv Rūd, by which they flow out to the Lake of Urmīyah. Its total length is 7 leagues [۷۴].

**Marand River**. This is also called Zakvīr, and in spring flood it is impassable. It rises in the mountains of Marand, and on the authority of Qazvīnī the statement is made that, according to an account given by Muḥammad Dhū-l-Fiḳār of Marand, this river before reaching Marand disappears under ground, and then after 4 leagues reappears again, coming thus to Marand. The overflow of this river, in the spring floods, joins the Khoi river, which runs out to the Aras. Its length is 8 leagues.

**Miyānij River**. This rises in the mountains round Ūjān and after passing these territories joins the river Hasht Rūd in the plain round Miyānij, whence it flows into the Safīd Rūd, thus finally reaching the Caspian. Its length is 20 leagues.

**Taghtū River**. This rises in the neighbourhood of the Sīnā Pass, in the mountains of Kurdistān. It afterwards joins the Jaghtū river, and thus flows out to the Urmīyah Lake. Its length is 15 leagues.

**Hasht Rūd** (Eight Streams). This river rises in the mountains near Marāghah and Ūjān: and it joins the Safīd Rūd near Miyānij, its length being 20 leagues. The Bridge of Miyānij which has 32 arches crosses this stream: and it was built by the Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, Šāhib Divān.

Now as regards the rivers of Fārs<sup>1</sup>, Šhabānkārah and Kirmān.

**Purvāb** (Pulvār). This river rises in the hill of Dih Purvāb, and waters most of the Marvdasht plain, falling out finally to the Kur (Cyrus) river. Its length is 18 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fārs Nāmah*, 868 to 871.

**Ṭāb River.** It rises in the hills near Sumayram of Luristān, and is not always fordable. After being joined by the Masin river, it passes under the Thakān bridge, and next waters the districts of Rīshahr: flowing out finally into the sea near Sīnīz. This river forms the frontier line between the provinces of Fārs and of Khūzistān, and its total length is 47 leagues.

**Masin River.** This too rises in the mountain lands of Sumayram and Sīmsakht. It is a great river and not easily fordable even on horse-back. It falls into the Ṭāb river, and its length is 40 leagues.

**Shīrīn River** (the Sweet-water River). This rises in the Dīnār hills, and is a large river, being fordable [۱۰۰] with difficulty. It waters the Bāzrang district with some others, and flows out to the sea near Janābā. Its total length is 16 leagues.

**Shādhkān River.** This rises in the Bāzrang hills, and passing through the districts of Kahargān and Dasht Rustāq, flows into the sea. It is a great river, and not easily fordable even on horse-back; its length is 9 leagues.

**Jirrah River.** This rises in the Māṣaram district: it waters Naḥast Masjān (or Masanjān) and Jirrah, also part of the Ghundiḡān district. Then it joins the Shāpūr river, and thus reaches the sea. Its length is 19 leagues.

**Darkhīd River.** This is a great river and scarcely fordable. Its length is 15 leagues.

**Khawābdān River.** This is also a great river, and it rises in the mountains of Jūyīgān. It irrigates the lands of the Nawbanjān district, and then in the neighbourhood of Jallādjān joins the river Shīrīn, and thus attains to the sea. It is a large river, and its length is 11 leagues.

**Ratīn River.** This rises in the mountains of Upper Humā-yijān. It is a great stream, and it flows into the Shāpūr river, its length till it joins the Shāpūr river being 10 leagues.

**Jarshīq River.** This rises in the hills of Māṣaram, and is a great stream. After passing the Bridge of Sabūk it joins the Ikhshīn river, and its length down to the Ikhshīn is 8 leagues.

**Ikhshīn River.** This rises in the Dādīn hills. It is a great stream, and it falls into the Tawwaj (or Shāpūr) river. Its length down to its junction with this stream is 8 leagues.

**River Sardah<sup>1</sup>.** This rises in the mountains of Dār Khār Shāh, and after passing through the district of Jūr falls into the sea. Its length is but 1 league.

**Dīv Rūd.** This river rises in the Jīruft district of Kirmān, and its stream is very swift: hence its name of Dīv Rūd (Demon River). It is capable of turning 20 mill wheels.

**Bishāvūr (Shāpūr) River.** This rises in the Bishāvūr

<sup>1</sup> Not given by the older authorities. Possibly a mistake. Jūr is Fīrūzābād, named below.

mountains: it waters the farms of Bishāvur (Shāpūr city) and the Khisht district and that of Dih Mālik: [۱۱۱] after which it flows out to the sea between Janābā and Māndistān. Its length is 9 leagues.

**Burāzah River.** This is the river of Fīrūzābād, and its source is in the mountains of Khunayfān. It waters the district round the city of Fīrūzābād, and then joins the Thakān (Zakān) river thus reaching the sea. Its length down to the junction with the Thakān is 12 leagues.

Rivers of the Diyār Bakr Province (Upper Mesopotamia).

**Balīkh River.** This rises at the Spring of Dahānah, in the neighbourhood of Harrān, and flows out to the Euphrates below Raqqah. Its length is 8 leagues.

**River Khābūr.** This rises at Rās-al-<sup>c</sup>Ayn, where there gushes out a spring of water sufficient to turn ten mill wheels: and there join it from near by here some 300 other springs. Its waters flow through the Hirmās territory, and then after passing Qirkīsiyā it flows out into the Euphrates. The length of this river is 25 leagues.

**River Hirmās.** This rises at a spring in the neighbourhood of Naṣībīn in the Ṭūr <sup>c</sup>Abdīn district; there being sufficient water power to turn two mills. The sides of the spring are lined with cement, in order to regulate the outflow of the water. The Caliph Mutawakkil caused this lining to be broken through, on which the water so much got the upper hand, that all was like to go to ruin. Thereupon he commanded that things should be set back as they were aforetime. The river passes Naṣībīn, and then in the neighbourhood of Hānah joins the river Khābūr, and thus reaches the Euphrates. Its length is 12 leagues.

**River Tharthār.** This takes its outflow from the Hirmās river, and after passing Haḍr flows into the Tigris.

**Ṣūr River.** This rises in the mountains of Mārdīn, and it waters the lands of this town, after which it flows out to the Euphrates. It is 10 leagues in length.

The Rivers of Khurāsān and Quhistān.

**Shūrah Rūd (Salt River).** This is of Nīshāpūr, and it passes through the Nīshāpūr district, where the streams from the hills on either side of the valley flow down into it. Thus all the lands of the Nīshāpūr district are irrigated by its course.

**Dizbād River.** This rises in the Dizbād hills: and in the spring floods its overflow goes to the Shūrah Rūd. At other seasons its waters are lost in the Dizbād plain: and its length is 5 leagues.

**River Sakhtar.** This rises in the Sakhtar hills, and it waters some of the Nīshāpūr district, and also some other districts. [۱۱۱] Its length is 3 leagues.

**River Kharū.** This rises in the mountains of the Nīshāpūr



district, and flows through the Kharū village, and some others, after which its waters usually become lost, though in the spring floods its overflow reaches the Shūrah River. At other seasons, however, the stream does not come down even to the neighbourhood of the city of Nishāpūr.

**Būshṭaḥqān River.** This rises in the neighbourhood of the Chashmah-i-Sabz (Green Spring) and flows down to Nishāpūr, in the district of which its waters are lost. Its length is 4 leagues.

**Pusht Farūsh River.** This rises in the mountains of Dar Rūd, and thence comes to Pusht Farūsh, Asqarīsh and other places. Its flood waters in spring flow to the Shūrah Rūd, and its length is 5 leagues.

**Khajank River.** It rises in the hills of that name, and expends its waters among the villages there, its length being 4 leagues.

**Farkhāk River.** This rises in the hills round the lake of Chashmah-i-Sabz, and loses its waters among the cultivated lands of those districts. In spring its flood waters serve to irrigate the villages lower down, and they then join the Shūrah Rūd. Its length is 2 leagues.

**River Dahar.** This too rises in the district of the Chashmah-i-Sabz, and its waters are expended in the district round the city of Nishāpūr, its flood waters in spring falling out to the Shūrah Rūd. Its length is 4 leagues.

**River Baqīrān.** This rises in the district of the same name, losing itself among the fields of that neighbourhood, and its length is 4 leagues.

**River Chārsaf Rūd.** This is formed by two streams, one of which rises in the hills of Bārdawayh, the other in the Ṭaghān and Chārsaf hills. Coming together these streams water the neighbouring lands. Their total length is 15 leagues.

**Āṭshābād River.** This rises in the plain called Maydān-i-Sultān, and in the spring floods would be capable of turning 20 mill wheels. Its surplus waters flow to the Shūrah Rūd. In the hot season, [٢٢٨] however, these waters dry up and it is for this reason that they are known as Āṭshābād (the home of Thirst). Its length is 20 leagues.

**Wakhshāb<sup>1</sup> River.** This rises in the mountains of Khutlān, and passing through Khutlān comes to the country over against Balkh, where in the Tirmid district it joins the Jayḥūn (Oxus). Its length is 30 leagues.

**River Jaghān Rūd.** There is in the neighbourhood of Jājarm a mountain that rises like a perpendicular wall, and from the midst of this mountain wall three springs burst forth, side by side, each sufficient in volume to turn a mill wheel. For the space of an arrow flight they flow as through a spout, and then serve to

<sup>1</sup> Wakhsh-Āb is the *Oxus-Water*, the tributary from which the Greeks derived the name of the great river.

irrigate many of the lands of Jājarm, and of the neighbourhood. The length of the stream is 12 leagues.

The rivers of Arabian ʿIrāq.

**Bayāt River.** This rises in the mountains of Kurdistān, and coming down to the Bayāt district irrigates all the gardens and fields and palm groves of that country side, after which its overflow is lost in the plain.

**Daqūq River.** This rises in the Kurdistān mountains in the neighbourhood of the pass called Darband-i-Khalīfah. It flows by the town of Daqūq, and then 5 leagues below this place comes to the sands, after which at most seasons but little of its waters is any more seen. In these places there are moving (or quick) sands, and a man is sucked down and the sand rises above his head so that he perishes. On account of which along this ground they have set up sign posts, and marks to prevent men passing, and so to keep them from destruction. The flood waters of this river in spring time join the Tigris, and its total length is 5 leagues.

**Barāz-ar-Rūz River.** This rises in the mountains of Kurdistān and irrigates the district of Barāz-ar-Rūz, after which its flood waters are lost in the plain.

## CHAPTER XX

The Seven Seas, and the Circumambient Ocean. The ebb and flow of the Tide. First, the Sea of China. Wāqwāq Islands (Japan). Java and the neighbouring islands. Rāmni (Sumatra). Marvels and wonders. The Whirlpools. Second, the Sea of India, or the Green Sea. Ceylon. Kallah (Quedah) and Sarbuzah. Other Islands with diverse wonders. The Persian Gulf: its islands. Pearl diving and the two Reefs. The Red Sea. The whirlpool of Jabalāt. The Sea of Himyar. Third, the Sea of Zang (Zanzibar). The island of Wāghlah, and others. Fourth, the Western Sea. The Confluence of the Two Seas, and the Straits of Gibraltar. Andalusia. Sicily, Crete and other islands. The Fortunate Isles. Fifth, the Sea of the Franks. Alexander's Cut (the Hellespont) and the Passage of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar). Tinnis. The island of Khālīshah. Sixth, the Ghālātiqūn, or Sea of Varāng. Seventh, the Eastern Sea. The Caspian. Lakes. Bakh-tigān and other lakes of Fārs. The Lakes of Urmīyah and Vān. Minor Lakes. The Lake of Zarah in Sistān. The Sea of Aral. Tinnis Lake in Egypt

### SECTION 5. Concerning Seas and Lakes.

As has been already stated (in the earlier part of this work) the waters which surround the habitable world are known to the Arabs as the Circumambient Sea (Baḥr-i-Muḥīṭ), while the Persians name these the Great Sea and the Greeks call them the Ocean (Baḥr-i-Uqiyānūs). Now these waters are divided into seven bays, by reason of the high and low lands which stretch out from the continent, and the same are known as the Seven Seas. Each is a mighty Sea, with numerous Islands, and in books of cosmogony it is stated that in the Seven Seas there are altogether more than 12,000 islands, inhabited and under cultivation, being well provided with fresh water; [۱۲۰] besides those other islands which are desert and unproductive. On the inhabited islands are lakes and mountains, with various kinds of animals, also trees without number, and innumerable wonders; so that God—be He exalted—alone knows their limit and extent. In the Circumambient Ocean, however, since the water is extremely deep there is no question of the appearance of islands. In the (Seven) Seas during each day and night there is the ebb and flow of the tide: the cause of which is the moon being near by or afar off. For when the moon rises, the tide comes in and it is high water and the tide flows up the rivers; but when the moon sets, the ebb begins and the water then flows out to sea. Further the rise and fall of the water, at ebb and flow of the tide, is in proportion to the light of the moon; when the moon is increasing to full-moon the water is rising, but is falling when on the contrary the moon

is waning. On the other hand, the ebb and flow in the Circumambient Ocean occurs but once a year, and it depends on the sun. For when the altitude of the sun is at its greatest, the water flows to the eastward; and when the altitude of the sun is at its lowest, the water flows to the westward; and then finally comes to complete stillness so that no pulsation can be seen therein:—and praise be to God who adorns all that He creates, for He is omnipotent over all things.

In the matter of the Seas I shall now set down, summarily and abridging details, what I have read in books of cosmogony, or heard by the report of men worthy of confidence, in order that this present work may contain all needful information, and I begin with the east and then go towards the south.

**The First Sea.** This is the Sea of Greater and Lesser China (Chīn wa Māchīn), it is the largest of all the seas, and towards China there is a great gulf; further in this sea there are counted 3700 islands.

**Wāqwāq Islands<sup>1</sup>.** The most famous thereof are these, and they consist of above a hundred isles. Here there are trees with leaves, which the wind as it blows causes to strike one against the other, and give forth the sound Wāqwāq; whence these islands have taken their name. The king of this country is known by the name of Kashmīr. Ibn Khurdādbih states that pure gold is there so plentiful that they make the collars for their dogs, and the tripods for their pots of it; while iron is so rare that they use it for ornaments and in jewelry. This account, however, is hardly credible, though indeed it was always advantageous to carry away gold thence to all other countries; for this was manifestly the most profitable commodity for export; [۴۴.] and gold in immense amount must have been brought from that country to India to be laid up in treasure. But recently Sultān Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi has abolished the rule, and in place of hoarding treasure, has been spending all the gold he possessed, and consequently no one now thinks of bringing gold into India from these islands; but rather would carry away gold and treasure thence to Īrān, for it is now the most profitable commodity to export from India.

**Islands of Jābah and Zābij<sup>2</sup>.** These lie on the Indian frontier, and their king is named Maharāj. Ibn Khurdādbih states<sup>3</sup> that he is lord of so many and such populous isles that every day the royal revenue amounts to 200 Mann-weight of gold. In the Island of Jābah is a mountain on the summit of

<sup>1</sup> Without doubt now identified with Japan; see note by De Goeje to his translation of Ibn Khurdādbih, p. 50. The Persian text is an inexact translation of the Arabic. On the subject of the Wāqwāq Islands being Japan, see the monograph by De Goeje translated in *Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 231. Corresponding more or less with Java.

<sup>3</sup> Wanting in the present Arabic text.

which is a place, measuring a hundred ells square, which is all luminous with fire. By night the fire is visible rising up to a height of two spear-lengths and a hundred ells across, while by day it shows as smoke, and it never becomes extinguished. On this island there are winged men who can fly.

**Salāmī Isles<sup>1</sup>.** The air here is better than that of any other island; hence any person who goes thither from our countries, by reason of the excellence of the climate here, and the abundance of good things, never can find it in his heart to leave that place again.

**Island of Niyās<sup>2</sup>.** A long and broad island, densely inhabited by wild people, who are, however, very handsome in face. By reason of their good looks our folk often catch the women here and keep them in bonds, begetting children from them; but when occasion befalls most of these women, having no true affection for their offspring, escape and flee away.

**Island of Dam.** Here there are men of powerful build but hideous in face; and they are cannibals who live by eating human flesh.

**Island of Rāmnī<sup>3</sup>.** It is very populous, the men being short of stature so as to be only four spans in height. They climb trees with their hands only, not using their feet. In this island is the great Camphor tree.

**Island of Aṭūr<sup>4</sup>.** Here live the Dog-headed men.

There are many more islands in this Sea, but to name them all would be tedious. Upon them too live numerous strange beasts, such as the Great Frog, the Civet Cat, the Musk Rat, the White Ape, the Great Serpent which can carry off an elephant; [ṛṛ] the Talking Parrot, the Magpie that whistles so well, Peacocks and Hawks that are white, also Falcons, the Rhinoceros, and the (giant bird called) the Rukh. Further of trees are the great Camphor tree, so immense that it can shade more than one thousand men, the Baqam (Brazil-wood) tree, the Bamboo, the Carob which tastes like the wild gourd, and the Sandal wood. There are also flowers of all colours, except those of variegated tints, of which there are none such in this land. They are of diverse uses; but shoots from them cannot be transplanted from these islands to our country, for they wither completely, and even when kept moist will not live when carried away. Further in this sea there are whirlpools, known as Lions' Mouths, also they are called Durdūr. If a ship gets into one of these, unless by the

<sup>1</sup> Qazvīnī gives the name as Salāhī.

<sup>2</sup> Qazvīnī gives the name as Banān: other variants are Bayān, etc. The island of Niyās lies off the west coast of Sumatra. Cf. *Merveilles*, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Equivalent to Sumatra; cf. G. Ferrand in *Journal Asiatique* for Nov. 1907, p. 440. Often written Rāmī, and the two Cambridge MSS. give the name as Rūmī. Qazvīnī writes it as above.

<sup>4</sup> Qazvīnī gives the name as Aṭūrān. For the Island of the Cynocephali see *Odoric de Pordenone* (H. Cordier), p. 201.

special providence of God, it cannot be saved; and seafaring men know well these places, and they are diligently to be avoided by those who would sail in safety.

**The Second Sea.** This is the Indian Sea, otherwise called the Green Sea; and here there are reckoned to be near to 2300 islands, also many marvels. This sea has three arms, each of which forms a great sea; the first arm is the Sea of ʿOmān and Fārs, also called the Sea of Baṣrah; the second arm is the Red Sea, and the third is the Sea of Ḥimyar. In each of these arms are many islands, which will be noticed in due course. The span of the Indian Sea, counting from where it leaves the Circumambient Ocean to where its three arms branch from it, is said to measure 500 leagues. Of its most notable islands are the following, beginning at its point of origin.

**Island of Saylān (Ceylon).** This is 80 leagues both long and across, and the mountain of Sarandīb<sup>1</sup> on which Adam—peace be upon him—was cast forth out of Paradise is in this island. Also near by is the passage of the sea, where Adam walked afoot, but it now takes a ship two or three days here to cross over. In this mountain, and around it, are mines of various coloured Corundums (Sapphires and Rubies); also of the Diamond and Smyris (emery) and rock crystal. Further aloes-wood is found here, with other aromatics, and both the Musk Deer and the Civet Cat are met with in great numbers, while in the sea round this island they dive for pearls.

**Islands of Kallah and Sarbuzah<sup>2</sup>.** Here there are numerous tin mines. [r r r]

**Island of Grapes.** Here there are elephants of such huge size that some attain a height of ten ells.

**Island of Bartāyil.** Qazvīnī states that every night a sound of woe is heard coming from here, as though one were calling for redress. They say there are men here, whom by day no one can see, but who come out at night; and these play on musical instruments. In this island grow many aromatics, for obtaining which merchants come thither, and each merchant sets down his goods separately, leaving them, and by night the people of the island come and over against each bale they set a quantity of aromatics. If the amount satisfies the merchant he takes it, otherwise he leaves it till more be added<sup>3</sup>. But should any merchant feloniously carry away both the bales, then the sea rises and shuts off his road for departing.

<sup>1</sup> For both these names see *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> See *Merveilles*, pp. 247, 255 and 308. Kallah is Quedah in Malacca, otherwise Qal'ah. Yāqūt writes the name Kalah and Kalāh, and Sarbuzah is Palembang in the island of Sumatra. For Sarbuzah, rightly given by Yāqūt, *Sarīrah* is the common error of the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> For this method of barter see Marco Polo (Yule), II. 486; and Ibn Baṭūṭah (Defrémery), II. 401.

**Island of Rāmnī<sup>1</sup>.** Here is found the nest of (that great bird) the Simurgh.

**Island of Ants and Gnats.** Here every ant is the size of a dog, and every gnat like a sparrow, and they sting hurting abominably; so that in this island no other living thing exists.

**Island of Salāqaṭ.** On this isle are many buildings, and there is a spring where the waters burst forth as in a fountain, and the overflow petrifies; one day this is white in colour but the second day it is black.

**Castle Island.** Qazvīnī reports that in this island is a mountain, upon which is a white rock like a kiosk (or castle); and the island takes its name therefrom. Anyone who makes his way on to that rock is almost overcome by sleep, and if he gives way to sleep he slumbers on till he dies; but even if he rouses himself so as to get down the mountain again, for some days after he is as one silly.

**Islands of Mālān and of the Dog-heads.** These are several isles, where there are many tribes (of the Dog-headed men) who wage war continuously with the men of the other Islands.

**Islands of Diversity.** These are three isles; in one it continually lightens, in another it always rains, while in the third the wind blows perpetually. These conditions never vary and no one island ever experiences the conditions of the others.

**Island of the Dragon.** This is very long and broad, [۲۳۳] having many habitations upon it, also a high mountain. In the time of Alexander the Great there lived here a mighty dragon, and the people of the place were troubled thereby. Daily they would bind some of their cows, throwing them on the passage of the dragon for him to feed upon, and so not cause harm to men. Alexander however ordered that some cows should now be killed for his eating, but that they should fill the bellies of these beasts with arsenic, quicklime and sulphur, fixing therein swords also. Then no sooner had the dragon carried off that bait, which had been thus prepared to appease his unholy appetite, when to eat of the same, and to die, was but a single act. This island therefore was called after this dragon.

**Island of Kaykālūs.** Here the people have no clothes, and their food consists of bananas, cocoa-nuts, Indian nuts and fish. They cover their nakedness with the leaves of trees.

**Karāram Isles.** Here there is much ambergris.

Now in regard to the description of other islands which have not been included in this book, such will be found fully detailed in works on cosmogony. In these seas are men innumerable of all sorts and kinds. In some of the islands they have white

<sup>1</sup> Already given, see above, p. 223.

skins and faces like Turks, being very handsome; also their young beardless lads go with their faces veiled like women, until such time as the beard grows. There are found in these isles all sorts of perfumes, drugs and aromatics; also mines of precious stones, and men dive for pearls. In these parts too are mountains of magnetic ore, for which reason in their boats they make no use of iron. Further there is great abundance of camphor-trees, sandal-wood, Baqam (or Brazil-wood) and ebony throughout the islands of these seas.

The Sea of Fārs and °Omān and of Baṣrah; (otherwise called the Persian Gulf). This is an arm of the Indian Sea, its eastern side is bounded by the province of Fārs as far as Dayr (the Convent<sup>1</sup>); on the western side lies Arabia with the provinces of Yaman, °Omān and the Desert; to the north are the provinces of °Irāq and Khūzistān; while to the south is the Indian Sea. The breadth across (the Persian Gulf), near where it reaches the Indian Sea, is set down as 170 leagues, and its depth where boats cross is said to be from 70 to 80 fathoms. From the time when the sun first enters the Sign of Virgo, and during a period of six months, the Persian Gulf is very stormy: but after this it becomes calm. The ebb and flow of the tide from the sea goes up the Tigris Estuary (Shaṭṭ-al-°Arab) to Dih Maṭārah, which is a village lying 20 leagues from the coast. [۱۷۲] Baṣrah obtains its irrigation from this estuary; and at flood tide you can travel by water from Baṣrah to the sea, for the water rises sufficiently high, though at low-water the boats ground on the mud. In the Persian Gulf are many islands, and of those which are inhabited and celebrated as belonging to the Kingdom of Īrān are these following: Hurmuz, Qays (or Qaysh), Baḥrayn, Khārik, Khāsik, Kand, Anāshāk, Lāvar, Armūs and Abarkāfān; with some others. Between Hurmuz and Baḥrayn the pearl diving takes place, and large pearls are found in this Gulf such as come from no other sea. The best diving ground lies between Qays and Khārik. In the neighbourhood of Aden too they dive for pearls. In regard to other islands here, but which are counted as of India and Yaman, mention will be found in books of cosmogony. In the Persian Gulf, on the course between Baḥrayn and Qays, are two hidden reefs known as °Uways and Kusayr. Ships go in great terror therefrom, but the place is known to the seafaring folk, and they use every caution to avoid them. There is much ambergris found in this sea, the fish eat it and perish by its effects; further the ambergris which they take from the belly of a fish has already lost much of its perfume and colour. There are also near this sea numerous mines of various kinds of corundums, carnelians and emery stone; also mines of gold, silver, iron, brass

<sup>1</sup> What place is meant is uncertain.



and magnetic ore. Lastly there is in the Persian Gulf a whirlpool, escape from which is only possible by the special providence of God.

**The Sea of Qulzum<sup>1</sup>.** Also called the Red Sea, and it is an arm of the Indian Sea. Its eastern side is bounded by the lands of Yaman and of the Arabs; on its western side is Barbar and Abyssinia; to the north lie Qulzum, Yathrib (Medina) and the Tihāmah province, while to the south is the Indian Sea. In its length this sea goes along the full length and breadth of the habitable quarter of the world, and from Qulzum to Yaman it measures 460 leagues; while its breadth is after the fashion of a river, or rather of a lake, so that from Qulzum for some leagues down the sea one side is always visible from the other side. This part is known as the Tongue of the Sea (Lisān-al-Baḥr). Its breadth at the beginning is six leagues, but as it goes beyond it gets broader, until where finally, as aforesaid, it joins the Indian Sea, it is 60 leagues across; and at some places in between it is even broader than this, being about equal to 100 leagues across. [۲۳۰] In this sea there are numerous reefs, one beside the other, hidden beneath the water, and ships are in great danger therefrom. In this sea also is a whirlpool near the Island of Kūtāwān, which ships only escape by careful navigation; it lies between two adjacent reefs, which the ships here are bound to pass. The place is known as Jabalāt; the wind always blows here, and causes ships to founder. This dangerous place is two leagues in length, and it is where of old Pharaoh was drowned. There are in this sea many islands: the best known of them is the Island of Tārān, which is also called Sūb<sup>2</sup>, and it lies just beyond where Pharaoh was swallowed up. There is also the Island of Jasāsah where there are many hills of magnetic iron ore: and of other islands in this sea mention will be found in books on cosmogony.

**The Sea of Ḥimyar.** This is an arm of the Indian Sea, and it is also known as the Sea of Barbar. Its eastern side is closed by the Indian Sea, to the west lie the lands of Ḥimyar, on the north are the provinces of Barbar and to the south the Mountains of the Moon. This sea is smaller than the two other arms already described of the Indian Sea. Its length going northwards is 160 leagues, and its breadth from east to west is 33 leagues. It contains many islands.

**The Third Sea.** This is the Sea of Zang<sup>3</sup>, and in form it is like the Indian Sea, but without arms; and it is very stormy, its waves being more huge even than those of the Indian Sea, and these waves are known as the mad waves. Its waters are very

<sup>1</sup> From the name of the ancient town of Clysmā, near Suez.

<sup>2</sup> Variants Sūt and Sawb. Tārān is mentioned by Yāqūt; it lies at the mouth of the Aqabah Gulf, and is now called Tīrān.

<sup>3</sup> Below Zanzibar.

dark in colour. Qazvinī states that from many of the islands here the north pole cannot be seen, which is to be accounted for by their lying south of the equator. In books on cosmogony again, it is stated that, in one of the many islands here, both the poles are visible at once, and hence this island must lie exactly upon the equator. Now in this sea there are 1300 and odd islands. The best known of these is the Island of Wāghlah, and Qazvinī reports that in this island once every thirty years a star [۱۳۱] is seen to rise, and if this attains to the zenith, then everything that is in the island burns. The people here therefore, as soon as it becomes apparent that this is going to happen, take their departure from the island, for such time as the calamity may last. Afterwards they return and set to work to remedy the loss sustained.

**The Isle of Tumult** (Jazīrah-aḍ-Ḍawḍā). There are here many districts, and in one is a city all of white stone which shines by night. The island takes its name from this, that great serpents took possession of that city, and the population departed utterly; hence it is now a ruin, but the climate here is the best in all those parts.

**Island of Alaḡ.** Here there are men of short stature who are only one ell in height.

**Islands of the Dog-heads.** These are diverse islands where dog-headed men innumerable live who are cannibals.

In this sea too there are many other wonders, and in its waters ambergris in great pieces is found, some of which exceed a thousand (drachms in weight). The sailors break off pieces of this ambergris with pincers and draw them forth. Also in these islands there may be seen ebony trees, and sandal-wood and teak. The other islands in this sea will be found mentioned in books on cosmogony.

**The Fourth Sea.** This is the Western Sea, near by which is the Land of Maghrib (the West), also the country of ʿAbd-al-Mūmin (the Almohad) with Tangiers and other places, all of which are upon this sea. To the north lie twenty islands (forming a peninsula) known as Majmaʿ-al-Baḥrayn (the Confluence of the Two Seas), and here is an arm of the Western Sea in propinquity to (this peninsula) which is known as the Straits (of Gibraltar), and so close here is the land on either hand that indeed it is but three leagues across. The length of these Straits is 25 leagues, and on this coast the ebb and flow of the tides from both seas come together. The water of the Western Sea is black, but in the Straits it is clear, and twice a day there is an ebb, and then again a flood tide from each of the two Seas. It is because of this that the land here is called the Confluence of the Two Seas. In the Western Sea and in the Straits (of Gibraltar) are near to a thousand islands (and peninsulas).

**Andalusia.** This peninsula is the most famous of them all, with (the cities of) Toledo and Seville. It is a long and broad country, resembling in form the Arabian Peninsula, and on one side it is continuous with the continent (of Europe).

**Island of Sicily.** [ccc] This is 75 leagues in circumference.

**Island of Crete.** This too is of about the like circumference.

**Island of Cyprus.** Its circumference is 80 and odd leagues.

**Island of Gold<sup>1</sup>.** This is a large place, and the Greek slaves came from here.

**Islands of Eternity (the Fortunate Isles).** These lie beyond the islands and peninsulas that have already been mentioned, but beyond them again there are no inhabited or cultivated islands. The longitude of countries is generally reckoned from these islands, but sometimes longitude is counted as from the coast-line of Maghrib, then for the distance from the Fortunate Isles to this coast a deduction has to be made on the former count of one degree. Other islands of this sea will be found described in books on cosmogony : and in these parts are many other wonders, but to detail them all would be too long.

**The Fifth Sea.** This is the Sea of the Greeks and Franks<sup>2</sup>. It is surrounded by inhabited lands; and they also name it the Sea of Constantinople. The ancient Greeks called it Pontus and in shape it has the figure as of a bird with a long neck. Its length, from the Straits (of Gibraltar) which adjoin the Western Sea and the Ocean, to Faljah Iskandar (or Alexander's Cut<sup>3</sup>) is said to be 1300 leagues; and its greatest breadth is between Alexandria and the Frank Lands, where it measures 260 leagues. The line of Alexander's Cut, which was in part of the ancient Greek lands, is on that side of this sea which is cut off for the head (of the figure) of the bird : for the waters of the Frank Sea form a sea round the land of ancient Greece. In length this Cut of Alexander stretches for a distance of 102 leagues, going from the Sea of the Franks to the borders of the Sea of the Khazars (the Caspian); while in its greatest breadth it has a width of 20 leagues. The width of Alexander's Cut in the neighbourhood of the Frank Sea aforesaid is but 200 ells, so that from one side

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain as to what place is meant.

<sup>2</sup> There is here some confusion between the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea, and the Western Sea, just described.

<sup>3</sup> The line of the Hellespont, Sea of Marmora and Bosphorus. Other oriental writers do not apparently allude to these Straits under this name, but that this was the common Turkish legend is evident from the following passage in the travels of Schildtberger, who was at Constantinople in the first quarter of the fifteenth century : 'Es hat auch der grosz Alexander XV welsche meyl langk durch grosz und hochs gepirg und vels [graben] unnd hat zwai mer in ainander lassen ; und das do fleust das ist das grosz mere, man hayst es auch das schwartz mere...den arm von dem mere hayssen die Krichen Hellespondt und die haiden hayssen in Pogaz.' (*Büghāz* is Turkish for 'a Strait.') See Hans Schildtberger, *Reisebuch*, p. 46, edited by Dr V. Langmantel in *Bibl. des Lit. Verems in Stuttgart*, No. LXXII : Tübingen, 1885.

to the other the voice can be heard. Here for the passage of people across they have set a bridge of boats; and the length of this part of the Cut of Alexander is 80 leagues. The Straits (of Gibraltar) which connect the Frank Sea with the Circumambient Ocean in the confines of the land of Toledo (Spain) are in the immediate neighbourhood of the Passage of Hercules<sup>1</sup>. This is a narrow place measuring 20 leagues across. Some authorities call this Passage of Hercules the Cut of Alexander, and name the whole Frank Sea the Cut of Alexander; but in this they are at fault, and the more exact version is what we have given. In the Sea of the Franks there are likewise 600 islands and of the best known are the following:

**Isle of Tinnīs<sup>2</sup>.** Its circumference is 95 leagues and they gather good harvests here. The people also weave fine brocades, and the Greek brocades are mostly from Tinnīs. [ῥα] The population live on milk and fish.

**Island of Khālīṣah<sup>3</sup>.** In the *History of Maghrib* it is said that in this island are wild sheep as numerous as ants and locusts, these are very fat and not excessively shy of men, hence they are hunted down easily—praise be to Him who of His kindness giveth countless good things to His servants according to their deserts. This island lies on the ship's course from Greece (Rūm) to Alexandria. Other islands of the Frank Sea are described in books of cosmogony. In this sea the waves are less high, and terrors not so many, as in the other seas, and there are many wonders here also, (which it were too long to describe).

**The Sixth Sea.** The Sea of Ghālāṭiqūn, which is also called the Varāṅg Sea<sup>4</sup>. On its eastern shore are the countries of Baland, Badrīyah and Būdah, with parts of the Qirghīz and Varāṅg lands; to the south lies the Khazar Desert, which is also called the Qipchāq Desert; to the west come the provinces of the Franks, with Qulzum<sup>5</sup> and Constantinople, also other places; while to the north is the Circumambient Ocean. In the Varāṅg Sea are near to 2000 islands, and during the short days (of winter)

<sup>1</sup> For the Pillars of Hercules see Mas'ūdī, 1. 257.

<sup>2</sup> The peninsula or bank dividing the Lake of Tinnīs from the sea, and lying to the east of the Damietta Nile mouth.

<sup>3</sup> A variant of the name is Jālīṭah in Qazvīnī and others, but Ibn Hawqal gives as above. It lay off Marsā Tabarqah (to the west of Tunis), and Ibn Jubayr, who gives the name as Khālīṭah passed it on his way from Sardinia to the Balearic Islands. He describes it as lying 30 miles distant from the African coast, but what island is meant remains uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> This must stand for the Baltic or the North Sea: but the true pronunciation of the name is most uncertain. Variants are Qālīṭiqūn, Ghālīṭiqūn, 'Ālāṣifūn and other forms, all of which it is evident stand for some Greek or foreign (non-Arabic) name; for which possibly Glaciales and Glessaria (the Amber Islands) suggest themselves. Varang or Varāṅg is mentioned by Qazvīnī; the inhabitants were the Varangians, who provided the celebrated Body-guard of the Emperor at Constantinople. The other places will be dealt with later.

<sup>5</sup> In error, as explained on the following page.

these islands lie in darkness, for which reason this is also called the Sea of Darkness. The detail of its islands will be found in books of cosmogony, and here are many wondrous things.

**The Seventh Sea.** This is the Eastern Sea<sup>1</sup>. To the east thereof lie the lands of Salangā, with the districts of Gog and Magog; to the south are the plains of Kaymāk and the Qirghiz; to the west are the districts of Sanūrīyah and Ansūr with the Land of Darkness; while to the north thereof lie the Islands of Darkness.

Now in the matter of the Circumambient Ocean and the Seven Seas which have just been described, verily they are situated in the way that is set out in the accompanying map: but God alone knows the truth<sup>2</sup>.

**Sea of Khazar** (the Caspian). This forms part of none of the Seven Seas, nor of the Circumambient Ocean (described above). It takes its name from the city of Khazar which lies on the bank of the river Itil (Volga), and Ptolemy calls it the Sea of Arqāniyā (Arcania). You may travel all round it without having [٢٢٩] to cross any other water, except only the rivers which flow into it, for this Sea (as already said) is in communication with no other sea. Some call it the Sea of Jurjān, others the Sea of Jilān. The common folk name it the Sea of Qulzum<sup>3</sup>, but this is a vulgar error, and the Sea of Qulzum (the Red Sea) has already been described. To the east of the Caspian lie Khwārazm, Saq-sīn and Bulghār; to the north is the Khazar Desert; to the west are the Alān and Lagzī<sup>4</sup> mountains with (the province of) Arrān; while to the south are Jilān and Māzandarān. The bottom of the Caspian is formed of mud, for which reason its waters are dark and turbid, not clear, as are the waters of most other seas, which same have a sandy bottom that is visible from the upper surface. In the Caspian too no pearls or gems are found, as is the case in many other seas, but it has some 200 islands of which the most famous is Ābaskūn (or Ābashkūn), which, at the present day, has disappeared beneath the waters. And the reason is this:—that formerly the Oxus flowed out into the Eastern Lake (the Aral) which lies over against the lands of Gog and Magog, but since the time of the irruption of the Mongols it has changed its course, and now passes to the Caspian<sup>5</sup>; hence this sea, by reason that it has no outlet to any other sea, at first began to overflow

<sup>1</sup> The Arctic and North Pacific; the places named will be dealt with later.

<sup>2</sup> Here a rough map is given in most of the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Clyasma, the name of the Red Sea, see above, p. 227. The error appears to have arisen from a confusion between Qulzum and *Qurzum*, the name for the beaver, the skins of which animal were here an article of export. See Dimashqī, translation by Mehren, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Or Lesgi; the other names will be noticed later.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of this problem see *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, as quoted above, p. 206.

the dry land on its shores, but now at last the inflow and decrease (by evaporation) have come to equal one another (and so the level is stationary). Other islands here are that of the Serpents, which same are venomless, and the Isle of the Jinn with the Island of the Black Mountain; also the Islands of Rūy and of the Wild-sheep. Of all these, in former times, only Ābaskūn and the Island of the Wild-sheep were inhabited, but the last is now also void of inhabitants. In the neighbourhood of the Black Mountain Island ships go in peril by reason of the exceeding violence of the wind. The Island of Allāh Akbar, which lies off Bākū, is now inhabited, and it has become the chief harbour of the Caspian. The other islands of this sea will be found described in books of cosmogony. Many great rivers flow into the Caspian, such as the Itil (Volga), the Jayhūn (Oxus), the Kur and the Aras, the Shāhrūd, the Safīd-Rūd and others. The length of the Caspian is 260 leagues, and its breadth 200 leagues, the circumference amounting to near a thousand leagues. In this sea the waves run very high and are more dangerous than in any other; but there is no ebb or flow of the tide. The Cut of Alexander<sup>1</sup> beginning at the Frank Sea and coming to near the [۱۴.] Lagzī Mountains reaches to within two or three leagues of the Caspian, for the space between the two seas is occupied only by these mountains. In the Caspian is a great whirlpool, which, from afar, draws ships to itself, causing them to founder. According to Ibn Khurdādbih<sup>2</sup> it is reported by the people here that this place is in truth a channel from the Caspian to the Frank Sea; but this is an unreliable statement, for the Cut of Alexander (as is well known) has been dug within historic times, and most of the country in between (the two seas aforesaid) is solid ground and well populated. Hence if this report found in Ibn Khurdādbih were true it would follow that the land here would so to speak adjoin the Sea (of the Franks and the Caspian). A more minute examination of these two Seas, with their various islands, will be found duly set forth in books on cosmogony; for here we have only discussed the matter to a limited extent and in few words. Lastly it is to be noted that, of these Seas above described, the Persian Gulf, the Caspian, and the Frank Sea all lie adjacent to the land of Irān.

We now pass on to describe the Lakes which occur in Irān, and in the most known of the neighbouring lands:—this by the favour of God most high.

**Lake of Bakhtigān.** This is in the province of Fārs<sup>3</sup>; round its shores lie the districts of Khurramah, Abādah, Khayrah, and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 229. The distance across from the Black Sea to the Caspian is of course much understated.

<sup>2</sup> Not given in the published Arabic text.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Fārs Nāmah*, p. 872.

Nayrīz. It extends to Šāhik of the Kirmān province. The river Kur (Cyrus) flows into it, and round it lie salt pans. The length of this lake is 12 leagues and its breadth is 7 leagues, its circumference being nearly 35 leagues.

**Dasht-i-Arzin Lake.** This is in the province of Fārs, and the waters of this lake are sweet. In spring time these waters are abundant, but in summer they decrease. Most of the fish for Shīrāz comes from here. The circumference of the lake is three leagues, but in the *Šuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated to be 30 leagues round.

**Lake Mūr.** Of Jirrah in the province of Fārs. Its circumference is two leagues, and there is much fish to be caught.

**Lake Māhalūyah.** In the province of Fārs, lying between Shīrāz and Sarvistān. In springtime the flood waters of the Shīrāz streams flow down into it. Its circumference is 12 leagues.

**Lake Darkhwīd.** A small lake, and the river which flows from it is known as the Barvāt<sup>1</sup>.

**Lake Bāsafhūyah<sup>2</sup>.** In the Fārs province, and in the district of Ištakhr. Its length is 7 leagues, [۷۴۱] by one league across. There is much fish here.

**Lake of the Shīdān Meadow<sup>3</sup>.** In the province of Fārs. In spring during the flood-waters a lake forms in these meadow lands, and its circumference is then about one league; but in the hot weather it dries up entirely.

**Lake Chīchast<sup>4</sup>.** In the province of Ādharbāyjān. It is also called the Salt Lake, and the districts of Urmīyah, Ushnūyah, Dih-Khwārqān, Ṭarūj (or Ṭasūj) and Salmās lie along its shore. In its midst is an island, where there is a hill, which is the burial place of the Mongol kings. The rivers Jaghtū, Taghtū, Šāfī and Sarāv-Rūd flow into it. The circumference of the lake is 44 leagues.

**Lake Arjīsh<sup>5</sup>.** In the province of Armenia. It is very long, but its breadth is such that from the one side the other side is visible. Here there is a fish called Ṭīrrīkh, which is very good eating, and which is exported thence to surrounding districts. The circumference of the lake is 80 leagues, and the taste of its water is bitter, being also somewhat salt.

**Lake Gūkchah Tangīz.** This is on the confines of Ādharbāyjān and Armenia. Its waters are wholesome, so that the population of those parts drink the same, these waters not being bitter and salt as is the case with most lakes. Its circumference is 20 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> See *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 266. The reading Purvāb is a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> The northern part of Lake Bakhtigān.

<sup>3</sup> Reading uncertain: see above, pp. 128 and 134.

<sup>4</sup> The Urmīyah Lake: Chaechastah is its name in the *Zend Avesta*.

<sup>5</sup> The Vān Lake.

**Lake of the Green Spring** (Chashmah-i-Sabz). In Khurāsān on the Tūs frontier. It is one league round, and from it two great streams take their origin, which flow respectively to Nishāpūr and to Tūs. Each stream is powerful enough to turn more than twenty mills. No boatman can cross this lake, nor can any one plumb its depth. The story of the horse which came forth from this lake, and which then killed king Yazdajird I, surnamed the Bad, is well known<sup>1</sup>.

**Lake of the Spring of the Golden Bough** (Zar-Chūbah). This is in the neighbourhood of Ābaskūn. No arrow can be shot across it. Qazvīnī relates that Rāfi<sup>c</sup> ibn Harthamah<sup>2</sup>, wishing to know its depth, sent boatmen thither, and they reported that they had plumbed to a depth of near one thousand ells, but had found no bottom.

**Lake of Zarah.** In Sīstān; its length is 30 leagues, and its breadth six. The rivers Hirmand and Farah flow into it.

**The Lake of Khwārazm** (the Aral Sea). Although this lake is not in Īrān, and the scope of the present work is only to set forth the geography of that land, [۱۴۴] yet as some part of the water of the Oxus, which flows over against Īrān, passes into it, an allusion thereto seemed proper. The circumference of the Aral Sea is more than 100 leagues, and an arm of the Oxus river, and the Jaxartes, with the rivers of Shāsh (Tashkand) and of Farghānah and others, all flow into it; and though the water of these is quite sweet, yet the waters of the Aral are salt. Between the Aral and the Caspian near 100 leagues of dry land intervene, but the common people state that the waters of the Aral pass by an underground course, and are in connection with those of the Caspian. This report however is hardly to be credited.

**Lake of Tinnīs.** This is within the borders of Egypt, and although it thus lies far from Īrān, yet being a very notable lake it seemed preferable to describe it here<sup>3</sup>. The water of this lake is from the river Nile, and never becomes salt or bitter, nor does it ever get putrid; and as the season gets warmer, its waters increase and become colder. Then when its waters overflow into the salt-marshes they become brackish, and afterwards salt—but God be He exalted and glorified alone knows the truth thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Shāh Nāmah*, Mohl, v. 418; and cf. the account given by Major P. M. Sykes in the *Geographical Journal* for 1911 (Jan.), vol. XXXVII. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Governor of Jurjān in 270 (883). Qazvīnī calls the spring 'Ayn-al-Hamm, 'The Sorrowful Fountain,' and the Persian name given above is probably due to a misunderstanding of the Arabic.

<sup>3</sup> What follows is a very confused epitome of the account given by Ibn Iḥawqal.



## CHAPTER XXI

Neighbouring Lands, and Cities. Pekin. The Wall of Gog and Magog: account of Sallām the Interpreter. Samarqand. Siyāvukhsh-Gird. Farghānah. Kang Diz. Alexandria, with the Pharos and other remains. Damascus, and the garden of Iam. Rahbah. Taisūs. Acie. Ayn Zarbah. Cairo and Egypt: the Fayyūm and Aylah. Hāiūniyyah. Al-Muthaqqab. Bāzār Ardashīr. Khaṭṭ Island. Rām Firūz. Zīb Khusiaw. Sindūsān. Peshavur. Ṣadwah. Aden. Bāb-al-Abwāb. Balanjai. Samandar. Ṣughdabil. Constantinople

BOOK III. Containing a description of cities which, though not within the borders of Īrān, yet, having some of them been built by the rulers of Īrān, and in accordance with the proverb *The builder hath length of days*, are for the most part without doubt places to be considered worthy of a lasting remembrance. So too it has been spoken in the words of the eloquent,—*Verily these buildings declare the intention of the builder*, and as a poet has written:

*These are our works, and they declare us;  
Wherefore, after we are gone, look at our works.*

And again it has been said,—*The pride of all men is in their buildings and in their sons; and a man's chief care comes from his house and his neighbour*. Wherefore, as a memorial of those noble and great men, and in illustration of the buildings that they have left, I have set out in this present book whatsoever has been gathered from ancient works concerning the four outlying quarters of Īrān. This being done in trust that the spirits and souls of those great builders, also of those historians, may—if it please God Who alone is excellent—come to take comfort in the sympathy of those who read and hear of these things.

The Eastern Quarter, in which are seven places. [۲۴۳]

Pekin (Bakin)<sup>1</sup>. In the land of China, founded by Alexander the Greek, or as some say by Kay Khusrāw, for Alexander did naught in the world but make ruin. It is of the Third Clime, and is a great and mighty town. Its climate is good, being rather cold. It is very populous and produces all kinds of cereals in great excellence.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly we should read *Yenkin*, the name of the capital under the Yen Dynasty; but the name Pekin—meaning ‘the Northern Court’—appears to have been in use in Mongol times to denote this capital, or some other city. Pekin later became the official name of Daytū, or Taydū, otherwise Khān Balīgh, which Qubilay Khān had rebuilt in 1264 A.D. on the older site. See next chapter, p. 250.

Wall of Gog and Magog<sup>1</sup>. Of the Seventh Clime, in longitude 109° 30', and latitude 73°. It was built by Dhū-l-Qarnayn (Him of the Two Horns), and it is so recorded for a witness in the Qurān (ch. XVIII. v. 93) as had been already mentioned. By some accounts the builder was Dhū-l-Qarnayn the Great, that is to say Dhū-l-Qarnayn son of Rūmī son of Lantī son of Yūnān son of Tārakh son of Japheth son of the Prophet Noah—on whom be peace; but according to another account this Dhū-l-Qarnayn was Alexander son of Darius son of Artaxerxes son of Bahman son of Isfandiyār. Ibn Khurdābih, when giving a description of the Wall, states that the Abbasid Caliph Wāthiq, having seen in a dream that the Wall had been burst through, despatched in the year 228 (843) Sallām the Interpreter, with fifty men, provisioned and mounted, in order to investigate the condition of things. From Sāmarrah he travelled forth and first presented himself before the governor of Armenia and Abkhāz, from whence he passed on to Filān Shāh the ruler of Shīrvān, and then on to the king of Alān, and thence to the Chief of Sarīr who is king of Bāb-al-Abwāb (Darband), from whom he passed on to Tarkhān Malik king of the Khazar. This Tarkhān then sent guides with them, and after travelling twenty-six days they came to a country where there was an evil smell, and going on ten days further they came to a city and a country which had been of old the dwelling place of Gog and Magog, but it was now gone to ruin. Through this land they travelled for twenty-seven days more, coming finally to several castles near a mountain, across the gorges of which is the Wall. The men in these castles spoke both the Persian and Arabic languages, and professed Islam, but they knew nothing concerning the Caliphate, and were much astonished that there was any Caliph living. They conducted Sallām the Interpreter before the Wall, and he saw here a mountain, bare and precipitous, which overhung a river gorge, and upon that mountain no plant grew. [۴۴] The gorge was 150 ells across, and at the mouth of the gorge were set two towers, built of iron bricks jointed with lead, and each tower was 25 ells square. The Wall went from the summit of these towers, and water flowing from the spring head, above the gorge, entered and passed down and out between them. As to the towers, from the water level to the crown of the arch was nearly ten ells of height, and more than this in depth was covered by the water. Joining the summits of the towers, by means of an arch, they had made a gangway five ells broad, going along the front of the Wall, and the face of the Wall was so high that from below a man upon its battlements

<sup>1</sup> The Wall of Gog and Magog is the Great Wall of China, see M. J. De Goeje, *De Muur van Gog en Magog* (Mededeelingen Kon. Acad. Amsterdam, 1888). See also Ibn Khurdābih, translation, pp. 124 and 131. Another version is given by Idrīsī, translation by Jaubert, II. 416.

appeared but as a five or six year old child. The line of the face of the Wall goes up above the towers for near 300 ells in length; and there where there be battlements it is double. Over the mountain from the summit of the battlements it goes down as straight as a plumb line, so that in no wise is it possible to climb it. The breadth of the Wall behind the battlements is such that five or six men abreast can pass along. In the midst of the Wall is a gateway, fashioned with double iron gates, 25 ells across, near 50 ells in height, and 2 ells in thickness. On this gate when closed are set, in their proper place, padlocks, each padlock 7 ells long, with the middle thickness thereof 2 ells; further there is a key with twelve teeth, each like the pestle of a mortar, and the length of the key is 4 ells. It is hung from a ring 25 ells away from the gate. The Wall too, like the towers, is built of bricks of iron jointed with lead and brass, all made as in a piece, and each of those bricks measures an ell and a half, by an ell and a half, and a span in thickness. Further many more of the bricks and the furnaces for making them are still to be seen lying about there. Every Friday the governor of the district comes forth with ten men, each man bearing in hand a battle-axe of 20 *Mann*-weight, and when they come to the gateway each man strikes three blows with all his strength on the gate, in order that the people of Gog and Magog may know that the watchmen of the Wall are alert. In the neighbourhood of the Wall is a fortified castle, and the dwelling-places of the guards of the Wall have each some cultivated ground round about, with gardens, and the living of the people there is derived from their produce. Then the governor of the country provided Sallām the Interpreter with [٢٤٠] guides and provisions and beasts of burden, sending him on his way; whereby, as on the outward journey, in the course of two months going seven leagues a day, he reached Samarqand and inhabited country; whence, by the Khurāsān road he came again to Sāmarrah and gave his account of the Wall to the Caliph Wāthiq. The full time that Sallām the Interpreter was absent on this journey was two years and four months.

**Samarqand.** Of the Fifth Clime: in longitude  $89^{\circ} 30'$ , and latitude  $37^{\circ} 30'$ . Ibn Khurdādbih asserts that it is the most beautiful and pleasant country of all the earth, and Al Ḥudayn ibn al-Mundhir ar-Raqāshī when describing this city writes: *She is like heaven for greenness, her palaces are like the stars for grandeur, her river is like the Milky Way for breadth, her wall is like the path of the sun (in the ecliptic).* Samarqand occupies a plain, in which stand the city and the citadel and a number of villages; and this plain formerly was enclosed by a wall 50,000 paces in circumference, some part of this wall still existing down to the present day. In ancient times a mighty castle had been built in the lands of this plain, but it fell to ruin. Then at the

time when that world-famed hero Karshāsf came hither, a part of the ruins of this castle was thrown down by an earthquake and a treasure was discovered. Karshāsf with that treasure rebuilt the castle in good condition, but after a time it again fell to ruin. Then Gushtāsf son of Luhrāsf the Kayānian restored its buildings, giving the castle strong fortifications and a mightily deep ditch : and he built a wall to stand between Turkistān and the plains of that country, as a barrier between Īrān and Tūrān, the length of which was 20 leagues. Next Alexander the Great founded in this plain a mighty city whose circumference was 12,000 paces. After his days, in the times of the Kings of the Tribes (the Parthians) one Samar by name, who was of the race of the Tubba's of Yaman, by reason of his enmity against the people of that land, laid this city in ruins, and razed it (*bi-kand*) to the ground level so that no building remained standing ; hence they called it *Samar-kand* (Samar hath razed it), which the Arabs in Arabic wrote as Samarqand. The climate of this country is cold. Its waters come from the river Būy and from the Barash and Bārmash channels ; [۱۴۱] and great canals traverse the plain all round and about the city, along which numerous gardens have been laid out. Sughd of Samarqand, which (as already said) is one of the most famous pleasure grounds of the world, lies along this river, whose stream in springtime carries many boats. The produce of the land is corn and much fruit, of its fruits being grapes, apples and melons, all of excellent quality. The population are of the sects of the Hanafites and Shāfi'ites. Among celebrated tombs in Sughd is that of (the Traditionist) Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, the author of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* ; also the tomb of Saqīm (or Hayḍam) son of 'Abbās uncle of the Prophet Muhammad ; and Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Balkhī also lies buried in Samarqand. On the outskirts of Samarqand is a tomb which is called Dasht Qaṭawān, and Yāqūt concerning this states that the Prophet said,—*Beyond Samarqand is a village that is called Qaṭawān ; from here 70,000 martyrs will go forth, each of whom will make intercession for 70,000 of the members of his kith and kin.* Now since this country in those former times was in the land of the Infidels, people wondered much as to the true meaning of this Tradition. Until at length, in the days of Sulṭān Sanjar the Saljūq, a battle took place at this spot between the army of Islam and the Infidels of the Qarā Khitāy, when a great multitude of Moslems was martyred ; and then again during the irruption of the Mongols an equally great multitude of the people of Islam attained here to the rank of martyrdom : whereby men were enlightened as to the true meaning of the Tradition.

**Siyāvukhsh-Gird.** This was built by Siyāvukhsh son of Kay-Kāūs the Kayānian, when being angry against his father he

went into Turkistān and made a pact with Afrāsiyāb<sup>1</sup>. The latter then gave the land here in fief to Siyāvukhsh, who built this city.

**Farghānah.** A province of the Fifth Clime. It was first settled by Anūshirvān the Just: now in that land he took a man from 'each house' (*har khānah*), wherefore he called the place Harkhānah, which name in course of time came to be pronounced Farghānah. At the present day the capital is Andigān, which was founded by Qaydū son of Qāshī son of Ogotāy Qaān, and by Davā son of Burāq son of Yāsūn son of Mātakān son of Chaghatāy Khān. In former times the chief cities of Farghānah were Kāt<sup>2</sup>, Kāsān and Akhsikath, [r.v] and the poet Athīr-ad-Dīn Akhsikathī was from this last. Others of its towns are Uzkand and Qubā; and the province has many districts with numerous well cultivated lands.

**Kang Diz.** In the far east and of the Second Clime. It was built by Zuhāk (Daḥḥāk) the son of 'Alwān.

Now the Pillars which mark the frontier of Īrān and Tūrān were set up by king Bahrām Gūr<sup>3</sup>.

The Western Quarter: in which are seven places.

**Alexandria.** Of the Third Clime: in longitude  $51^{\circ} 20'$ , latitude  $30^{\circ} 32'$ . It was built by Alexander son of Dārāb son of Bahman son of Isfandiyār, and lies on the coast of the Mediterranean. It is a frontier city between the people of Islam and the Franks. There are many Traditions (of the Prophet) concerning the excellencies of this place. Its climate is somewhat hot; its water is taken from the river Nile and from underground channels, and the air of the place is so consonant with the water that, if any of this last be set aside in store and stands for even two or three years, it will not become corrupt. They are of great fame here for their woven stuffs, and Alexandrian cloths are exported thence to all lands. The people for the most part are of the Shāfi'ite sect. Beside the city, but four leagues distant from it, is a strong castle, set on a hillock, which overlooks the sea: and by reason of its height it is known<sup>4</sup> as the Minār (Minaret or Tower) of Alexandria. This is one of the most famous buildings of the world. In certain books it is stated that the space on its summit sufficed to support more than 500 houses, and in some other works it is stated that the number reached to near a thousand. The height of its wall from foot to summit was 600 ells: and above this was built a square tower to a height of 90 ells, on the top of which was a round tower 30 ells high. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Shāh Nāmah*, Mohl, II. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Wānkāt, as given by Muqaddasī.

<sup>3</sup> For these see *Shāh Nāmah*, Mohl, I. 71, v. 547.

<sup>4</sup> For the history of the Pharos see A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 389, 397.

philosopher Apollonius (of Tyana), by command of Alexander, constructed a mirror seven ells in diameter, which was set up on the round tower, being thus elevated far above all other buildings; and by virtue of a talisman when any one gazed into this mirror he could perceive all that was going on in Constantinople, although between Alexandria and Constantinople lies the Mediterranean Sea and a distance of near 300 leagues divides the two cities. Now from this, much disquietude resulted to the people of the Franks; wherefore they despatched certain persons who came to Alexandria in the guise of mendicants, obtaining thus a favourable reception. [۲۴۸] These men, then put it in the general mouth that Alexander had laid a mighty treasure under the tower behind the mirror, and of this the mirror was the sign. ‘Amr son of ‘Ās, who was at that time Governor, in spite of his well-known exceeding cunning and excessive caution, was befooled by this stratagem, and in avarice to get the treasure broke into the place, but found nothing. As regards him these verses are to the point:

*Said a certain man of sense: ‘In the confines of Urganj,  
A certain fool craved for a treasure,  
So he took a mattock and cleft the ground:  
But when he got down ten ells deep then he found naught.’*

Afterwards the mirror was put back in place, but it had lost its miraculous power. Then they sought for those mendicants, but found that they had fled, and it came to be known that they had done this through deceitful malice. Thus through inauspicious avarice and greed, a mighty work of art was brought to naught: and rightly has it been said:

*Greed dishonours the face of dignity,  
For the sake of two loaves of bread a skirt full of pearls is often  
scattered.*

In the *History of Maghrib* it is reported that in order to go from Alexandria to this Tower an underground passage had been cut through the rock, 20 ells in height by 8 ells in width. This led to that side of the castle which more particularly was called the Minār, and here outside the castle stood a great building, known as the Mosque of Solomon—upon whom be peace. Of old this building had 300 marble columns, and at its gate stood four stone pillars on the summit of which a kiosk had been constructed. At the present day only one of these pillars is standing, and the three which have fallen down have been broken. This standing pillar has been made into a throne, four square and in stages, each side measuring six ells, by ten ells in the height, and on its summit rises a round column, 8 ells in circumference and near to 30 ells in height. There is also another throne, with a block of stone, all in one piece, set over it like a roof, being

supported by four columns. Upon this stone they have built a kiosk, in such fashion that the floor of the kiosk lies 50 ells above the ground, and this building they call 'Amūd-i-Şawārim (the Columns of the Swords<sup>1</sup>). It is built of marble, red in colour with black marks like onyx, but more beautiful. The magnificence (in ancient days) of the other buildings in Alexandria may be imagined from what has been left. It is related that when [۱۴۹] Alexander founded this city he said: *I have founded this city humbly dependent on God, but independent of men.* Now Alexander had a boastful brother called Faramā, and Faramā in emulation of his brother founded another city, larger and finer than Alexandria, to which he gave his own name, to wit Faramā. Then he said, *I have founded this city independent (as a challenge) to God, but dependent on men.* Observe therefore that the place which Alexander built is still populous in the extreme, being one of the greatest and most famous of cities and a benefit to all the world; while the town of Faramā in its neighbourhood is become a ruin, where now the more building that is done the more does decay increase; and therefore let us seek refuge with God from all wonder and vain hope.

**Damascus.** Of the Fourth Clime: in longitude 60° and in latitude 38° 30'. In the beginning of time Iram son of Shem son of Noah—on whom be peace—planted here a garden, which was called the Garden of Iram, and the fame thereof was celebrated throughout the world, for its excellence became a proverb. Then afterwards Shaddād son of 'Ād in that same place raised immense buildings, even like unto heaven and hell, which same together were called Iram of the Pillars: in reference to which the verse of the Qurān (LXXXIX. 6 and 7) may be quoted:—*Iram of the pillars whose like hath not been reared in these lands.* After this again Tārah (Terah), who is otherwise called Ādhar, the father of Abraham the Friend of God—upon whom be peace—and who was the Vazīr of Nimrod, in these same boundaries founded the city of Damascus, the buildings of which when these had fallen to ruin Alexander son of Darius restored. In the times (of Islam) the Omayyad Caliphs erected here immense buildings, and round the city lies the (Garden Land of the) Ghawṭah. Its climate is temperate but rather hot, and with a tendency to damp. Its water is from the river Baradā, which comes from near Ba'albak, and is so large a stream that in springtime it is with difficulty to be forded. From its source to Damascus is 18 leagues, and for the most part it flows under the shade of trees, being for this reason unwholesome to drink. The gardens of the Ghawṭah are

<sup>1</sup> Read 'Amūd-as-Sawārī, 'the Columns of the Beams,' as described by Maqrīzī, and which Mr Butler (*op. cit.* p. 386) would identify as the ruins of the ancient Oecus.

along its banks, and they are of the pleasant places of the world. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that the Ghawtah extends for a length of two days' march, being one day's march across. In blame of Damascus it has been said :—Its waters are choked with mud, its air bestinks, and here the sincere friend urges to crime. In the Mosque of Damascus are the tombs of many prophets, and on the threshold of its gate, which is called the Bāb Jirūn, the prophet John (the Baptist) was slain, and his head set up there. [١٠٠.] In the days of the Caliph Yazīd—a curse be upon him—the head of the Commander of the Faithful Ḥusayn—on whom be blessing—was likewise set on a stake here. In later times the Caliph Walīd made magnificent buildings in this mosque, such as never before had been built for grandeur, and in the *History of Syria* it is reported that six million dīnārs, of red gold pieces, were spent on these constructions. Verily if a writer of books wrote continually for one month about the same, he would not be able to describe and explain them all. At the gate of Damascus the Caliph Walīd also founded a House of Healing and a Hostelry for Guests, such as before his day never had been built; and in the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that on these buildings there was spent the revenue for five years of the whole of Syria. The produce of the city of Damascus is corn and cotton, also fruits of all kinds of excellent quality. Outside Damascus stands the hill of Qāsiyūn overhanging the city, and upon that hill are the tombs of prophets and holy men, also many caves. Among the rest is the cave where it is said Cain slew Abel, and the mark of his blood is still visible there. Then there is the Cave of Hunger, where it is said that forty prophets died of famine. The town of Qālūn<sup>1</sup> lies 4 leagues distant from Damascus. (Along the post-road) the distances from Damascus to Cairo are after this wise: from Damascus to Ṭabarīyah (Tiberias) 22 leagues; thence to Ramlah the capital of Filastīn (Palestine) 20 leagues; thence to Ghazzah 11 leagues, and here is the tomb of Hāshim son of ʿAbd Manāf, and this town was the birth place of the Imām Shāfiʿī; then from Ghazzah to Cairo it is 73 leagues across the desert: and this makes a total of 126 leagues.

**Rahbah.** Of the Third Clime, and counted as of Syria. Yāqūt asserts that this place is called Qubbat-al-Kūfah<sup>2</sup> (the Dome of Kūfah). In the *Diary* of Malik-Shāh it is described as lying east of the Euphrates, 2000 paces distant from the river bank, the circumference of the city being 5500 paces. It has many fine gardens, the same extending for 4 leagues in length by one league across. Of their fruits are quinces, apples, pears and grapes of good quality; and it is said that many of

<sup>1</sup> Apparently not mentioned by other authorities.

<sup>2</sup> This name apparently is not to be found in the printed text of Yāqūt's dictionary.



the fruit trees here will bear twice in one year, but they will not do so the third year.

**Ṭarsūs.** Of the Third Clime, and counted as of Syria. It was built by the Caliph ʿOmar II, son of ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz, [۲۰۱] and when it fell to ruin Hārūn-ar-Rashīd restored its buildings, surrounding it with a wall. Its climate is temperate, inclining to heat, and its lands produce corn and fruit.

**ʿAkkah (Acre).** Of the Third Clime, and in the bounds of Syria. It was built by King Sapor II.

**ʿAyn Zarbah.** Of the Third Clime, and counted as of Syria. A small town, which, according to the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm*, the Eunuch Waṣīf built in the days of the Abbasid Caliph Muṭaṣīm.

**Miṣr (Cairo and Egypt).** The city is of the Third Clime, in longitude  $58^{\circ} 50'$ , latitude  $30^{\circ} 55'$ . It is stated in the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* that before the time of Islam this country was taken to be an integral province (of the Roman Empire), but after the days of Islam it became a kingdom by itself. From the *History of Maghrib* it would appear that the capital city here, from the age of Abraham to the time of Joseph—upon both of whom be peace—lay on the western side of the Nile, 1 league distant from the river bank: and it had mighty buildings which the prophet Joseph and the Governor of Egypt and other rulers of the land had raised. The place of this city is now hidden in the sand, though some of its buildings may be seen among the sands, and at the present time this is known as Old Miṣr. In the time of Moses—peace be upon him—the Pharaoh of his day, Walīd ibn Muṣʿab by name, caused the river Nile to flow nearer to this city, and he built high palaces, facing their walls with iron and brass, thus to make these buildings most excellent. Also he made for himself a kiosk to sit in, and underground from the Nile he brought four channels thereto of running water. In one of these the basket cradle of Moses—on whom be peace—was found by the maidens of Āsiyah the wife of Pharaoh. Now these buildings of Pharaonic times for the greater part were still standing in the last days of the Fatimid Caliphs, and the author of the *History of Maghrib* states that in the year 512 (1118), when he was in Egypt, he saw there a house all of carved marble, with the drawings of the spheres and the stars, and all the Climes, and the likenesses of animals were to be seen thereon as though in motion, a wonder to the mind, so that you would have said they lived. Then in the days of Islam, during the Governorship of ʿAmr son of ʿĀs, the capital called Fustāṭ was built on the eastern bank of the Nile. This was of about half the area of Baghdād, but the number of the inhabitants here was greater than in Baghdād, for in the capital of Egypt the houses were built of many storeys, with people living on each storey. ʿAmr also erected mighty buildings

in Fustāt, among the rest the Friday Mosque built of marble, with its shrine (Maqṣūrah) formed of white marble, [۲۰۲] round which the whole of the Qurān in alternating verses was cut as an inscription. At 4000 places in the Mosque there were set lamps and candles. The Omayyad Caliph Walīd afterwards raised numerous and mighty buildings in Fustāt, in a quarter known as Qaṭāyi<sup>c</sup> (the Wards): he also built another fine Friday Mosque in Fustāt. ʿAbd Allah son of Tāhir, surnamed Ambidexter, next founded great buildings in the land, spending considerable sums on the mosques. In the year 275 (888) most of the buildings of Fustāt were burnt down; but Khumāruwayh the Ṭūlūnid restored them, increasing too the area built over, the new quarter becoming known as Qarāfah. The tomb of the Imam Shāfiʿī is in Qarāfah. Now of the Fatimids the Caliph Maḥdī, in the year 297 (910), had founded the city of Maḥdiyyah (near Tunis), and his great grandson, the Caliph Muʿizz in the year 362 (973) along side of the older capital of Egypt built the city called Qāhirah (Cairo), the work being superintended by the Eunuch Jawhar. Ismāʿīl the Governor, who was grandson of the Caliph Muʿizz, erected here many fine buildings, labouring to make strong and to adorn it and building the Ḥasaniyyah quarter beside the older capital, to which he joined it. In the early days of the Caliph Mustanṣir, for seven successive years in Egypt, by reason of the high flood of the Nile whose waters never once diminished, all agriculture became impossible. Famine, pestilence and great scarcity existed, so that one Raṭl (pound-weight) of bread came to be worth 15 (golden) dinārs, and then afterwards bread was wholly wanting. The strong ate up the weak; the majority of the population perished, and most of the buildings fell to ruin. At length it became possible to sow again; Badr-al-Jamālī, the commander of the Caliph's armies, did his utmost to restore cultivation and to rebuild the houses and finally he brought back the kingdom to a state of prosperity. Saladin (Salāḥ-ad-Dīn Yūsuf son of Ayyūb) in the year 572 (1176) after restoring what had been burnt down by a fire, built a wall round the various quarters of the city and the citadel, this wall being 29,300 paces in circuit. At the present day all that lies within this wall is known by the name of Miṣr (Cairo). Yāqūt states that in this city of Cairo, such is the mass of buildings, that there are here more than 6000 mosques, 1200 bath-houses, and 12,000 minarets. [۲۰۳] It is indeed the mightiest city of the West. The climate of Cairo tends to heat. Its water is taken from the river Nile; it is sweet and wholesome and with long standing does not become corrupt. In neither hot nor cold weather does any rain fall in this city, or round about its walls. Further, by reason of an enchantment, for a league distant above and below Cairo no crocodile can harm any one. The crops are corn, cotton and much sugar-cane. In the matter of this city it

has been said: *Its earth is gold; its women mere toys; and the vinegar comes from grapes.*

The village of Būṣīr is of the Fayyūm district, where was the Tree of Moses—upon whom be peace<sup>1</sup>—and here the last Omayyad Caliph Marwān II, surnamed the Wild-Ass, was slain. The Fayyūm lies 20 leagues distant from Cairo to the westward of the Nile. The city of Aylah, whose people God metamorphosed, the young men into apes and the old men into hogs, stands one hundred leagues distant from Cairo; and the Qurān (ch. VII. vii. 163 to 166) has reference to their history in these verses: *And ask them about the city that stood by the sea, when its inhabitants broke the Sabbath: when their fish came to them on their Sabbath day appearing openly, but came not to them on the day when they kept no Sabbath*, continuing down to the verse ending with the words, *And when they proudly persisted in that which was forbidden, we said to them 'Become scouted apes.'*

The following are the distances from Cairo to the (capital of the western) province: from Cairo to Alexandria 68 leagues, thence to Barqah 245 leagues, thence to Tripoli 188 leagues, and from Tripoli to Qayruwān it is 83 leagues.

**Hārūniyyah.** Of the Third Clime, and counted as of Syria. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd built it, and it is a medium sized town.

**Al-Muthaqqab.** In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* this is given as a small fortress which was built by the Omayyad Caliph ʿOmar II.

Southern Quarter: and here there are eight places mentioned.

**Bāzār Ardashīr<sup>2</sup>.** Of Yaman, it is now known as Tamāshā (the Spectacle), and it is of the First Clime, having been built by Bahman son of Isfandiyār.

**Khaṭṭ.** An island of the Persian Gulf near India. [۷۰۴] In old times this island with Qaṭīf and Laḥsā were counted as of Baḥrayn. Ardashīr Bābakān built a city on this island. The spears known by the name of Khaṭṭī are brought from here, and it is counted as of the Second Clime.

**Rām Fīrūz.** Of the Second Clime, and in Indian territory. King Fīrūz son of Yazdagird son of Bahrām Gūr founded it.

**Zīb Khusraw<sup>3</sup>.** Of the Second Clime, and in India. It was founded by king Anūshīrvān the Just.

**Sindūsān<sup>4</sup>.** Of the Second Clime, and in India on the sea coast. It was founded by Alexander.

**Farshāvur (Peshavur).** Of the Second Clime, and of the Indian lands. It was founded by Sapor II.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, i. 760. Some MSS. give 'Rock' for Tree.

<sup>2</sup> Reading uncertain. Tabarī gives Fasād, or Fasār Ardashīr; Dīnawarī Fārān Ardashīr. It is said to have been the capital of the Khaṭṭ Island.

<sup>3</sup> Probably identical with Zand Khusraw of Ibn Faṭṭīh, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Identical with Sadūsān of Iṣṭakhrī, and Sadūstān of Ibn Hawqal.

**Şadwāh**<sup>1</sup>. Of the Second Clime ; in India, and lying on the sea coast. It was founded by Alexander.

**The harbour of 'Adan** (Aden). Of the First Clime, and in Yaman. It was founded by Anūshirvān the Just.

The Northern Quarter : where five places are mentioned.

**Bāb-al-Abwāb**. The Arabs name this place Sarīr and by the Persians it is otherwise called Darband, also sometimes Filān ; and the king of this country is known as the Filān-Shāh. The Mongols name this place Timūr Qāpū (the Iron Gate). It is of the Fifth Clime. Its longitude being 75°, and its latitude 43°. King Luhrāsp the Kayānian founded it, and his grandson Isfandiyār son of Gushtāsf completed the buildings. It is a city resembling Tiflis. But in the days of king Qubād son of Fīrūz, it having fallen to ruin, he rebuilt its walls of unbaked bricks. Then Anūshirvān the Just further restored its buildings, surrounding them by a mighty wall of stone and cement. A rampart also extended from the city wall on the one side, down to the Caspian sea, and out into its waters for a distance of half a league, or there about. On the other side of the town the rampart went up along the crest of the Caucasus range, so that no passage for crossing the same remained open. Some folk call this rampart the Wall of Gog and Magog, but this is an attribution of local authority. Most of what Anūshirvān built still now remains standing. He constructed along the summit of the city wall aforesaid many towers, [۱۰۰] where watchmen were established ; these being watchmen brought from Mosul and Diyār Bakr, and they put a stop to the inroads of the Khazars. Along the mountain crest Anūshirvān built fourteen kiosks, like castles, and of these kiosks too some are still standing : and his watchmen spoke the Arabic tongue. The climate of Bāb-al-Abwāb is warm, and its lands produce excellent corn, there are also good pasture lands, water is plentiful, cattle abound, and by tending the same many make their livelihood therefrom.

**Balanjar**<sup>2</sup>. This was built by Anūshirvān the Just.

**Samandar**<sup>3</sup>. Of the Fifth Clime, standing in a plain of the Khazar Desert, in between Bāb-al-Abwāb and the Volga (Itil) river. It was built by Anūshirvān the Just, and there are many gardens with abundance of grapes. In old times the population was very great here ; now it is less. From Samandar to Bāb-al-Abwāb it is 4 days' march, and Samandar is now known as the Sarāy of Bātū (Khān). According to another account Samandar lies 2 leagues distant from Sarīr, which latter place of old, in the days of the Chosroes, was the capital of this land,

<sup>1</sup> Reading uncertain ; may be Şarwāh, Şadrah or Şahdūh, etc. What place is meant is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> The older Khazar capital.

<sup>3</sup> Samandar has been identified with the modern town of Tarkou.

having been founded by Bahrām Chūbīn. Sarīr too is counted as of Bāb-al-Abwāb.

**Ṣughdabīl**<sup>1</sup>. Of the Khazar Desert and of the Fifth Clime. It was built by Anūshirvān the Just.

**Constantinople**. Muslim the son of the Omayyad Caliph ‘Abd-al-Malik erected buildings here (during his siege of this city), and some traces of these are still standing.

<sup>1</sup> According to Yāqūt Ṣughdabīl was an Armenian city standing on the east (left) bank of the river Kur or Cyrus, opposite Tiflīs.

## CHAPTER XXII

Foreign Countries: to the eastward of Īrān. Badīyah and other northern cities. Balāsāghūn. Tibet. The Uighūr. Tangut. Chuicheh. China and Cathay. Khoten. Khwārazm. Qipchāq. Lands of Gog and Magog. Saq-sin and Bulghār. Sind. Saghāniyān. Slavonia and Faikhār. Qirghīz and Salangā. Qandahār and Kābul. Kashmīr and Kaymāk. Māchīn. Transoxiana. Makīān. Magyars. Greater India. Vaman, Hladramawt and Yamāmah.

BOOK IV. Containing a description of famous towns and districts situated in other kingdoms of the inhabited world; namely of those cities which lie outside the kingdom of Īrān, and were not built by the governors thereof. Now the scope of this work is indeed mainly, and as already said, the setting forth of the districts belonging to Īrān; yet of these others it appeared well to give here some notion in form of epitome and synopsis, in order that this book may be the more useful, as containing the sum total of all information; for it is generally agreed that the mighty buildings of the world, and the works of great kings, belong to all ages.

This part therefore is divided into two sections, the Eastern and the Western, and the division between the two I have made by drawing a line from the earth's pole south to the equator. This line cuts across the Indian Sea, whereby the kingdom of Ceylon is to the east of this line, while the Arab Peninsula, the Red Sea and the province of Hījāz are to the west of it, the kingdom of Yaman and the Sea of ʿOmān being also of the eastern half. Then the line (going north) after crossing Īrān, [٢٠٦] leaves Alān and Charkaz (Circassia) and the Frank Country with the Cut of Alexander to the westward, while to the eastward lie the Desert of Qipchāq and the Caspian Sea; then it comes at length to the sea called Ghālāṭiqūn, and crossing the Islands of Darkness it reaches finally the Circumambient Ocean. This is the shortest line crossing the midst of the habitable quarter of the earth, and in citing all the kingdoms thereof we shall mention only what is most celebrated and worthy of remark in each:—but God alone knoweth all things.

The Eastern Side. This contains twenty-nine kingdoms and the setting forth of the same will be according to their alphabetical order.

**Badriyah, Sanūriyah, Baland, Varāng, Ansūr and Būdah**<sup>1</sup>. These are diverse towns and plains lying beyond the Seventh Clime, between the Eastern Sea and the Sea of Ghālāṭiqūn. Most of their inhabitants are nomad dwellers in the desert. The climate here is extremely cold; and they raise but scanty crops, growing for the most part millet and summer corn, but neither cotton, grapes nor any other fruits can be brought to ripen. These folk have, however, much cattle, seeing that for their food and means of living they depend on cattle breeding. Further the produce of the rock-crystal mines here is very considerable.

**Balāsāghūn**<sup>2</sup>. This has a broad territory of the Sixth and Seventh Climes, and the cold here is extreme. Most of the people are nomads of the plain, having much cattle and many horses. The hay-crop is good, but there is little corn grown here.

**Tibet (Tabat)**. A vast kingdom of the Fourth and Fifth Climes. It has many fine cities, and a good climate, producing corn, fruit and grain crops. Of its most famous cities are Khūjān and Naghlashīn<sup>3</sup>; the last being a very large city, with an immense population.

**Tarsiyan and Uighūr**<sup>4</sup>. These territories include many distant provinces, of the Sixth and Fifth Climes. [r.v] Their notable towns or districts are Qamūl, Almāliq, Bīshbāliq, Khalakh, Jungar, Bamtak<sup>5</sup> and Fārāb, which last is the birth place of Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl ibn Ḥammād Jawharī, who is the author of the work

<sup>1</sup> These places must be sought for in Russia or Scandinavia, but the readings of the MSS. are most uncertain, and their identification is unknown. For Varāng and the Sea of Ghālāṭiqūn see above, p. 230. Of the remaining names Būdah may be identical with Yūā, and possibly Ansūr be the same as Wīsū, two places mentioned by Qazvinī as of the northern latitudes. Idrīsī, who has long accounts of these northern regions, gives no help here, nor does his commentator J. Lelewel in his *Géographie du Moyen Âge* (III. 71) offer any new readings; for our text of Idrīsī is here hopelessly corrupt. Baland may be Poland. See J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*.

<sup>2</sup> The ruins of the town lie a short distance to the N.W. of Merkeh. Khwāndamīr says that the Mongols called it Ghū Bālīgh, meaning 'the Khān's Good Town.'

<sup>3</sup> The names of the chief towns of Tibet are given variously, and nearly all the MSS. omit the diacritical points. Often the two names are run into one, and might be read Hūshūnfas, with many variants. Idlīsī (Jaubert, I. 490) gives a list of seven names for the cities of Tibet. In the *Jahān Numā* the capitals are said to be Ghatah and the Palace of Zuhak (Ḥaṣr Duhhāk). Vāqūt mentions the silver mines at Karrān in Tibet, but names no other cities.

<sup>4</sup> Tarsiyan is the plural of Tarsī, by which name the Persians knew the Uighūrs. Tarsā stands for 'Christian' in Persian (see note 1 to p. 290 of the *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross) having the signification of 'Those who fear (God)': compare *Rāhib*, a monk, literally 'a fearer (of God).'

<sup>5</sup> Qamūl is Hamī, Hāmīl or Khamī, the Camul of Marco Polo. The ruins of Almāliq lie a short distance to the N.W. of Kuljah. Bīshbāliq, 'the Five Cities,' was the Uighūr capital, and is modern Urumsī. The Khalakh were a Turk tribe famous for their beauty; or the reading may be Chalij, otherwise Chalish, which is modern Qarakhujah. Possibly however the true reading is Khalaj, namely the Turk tribe often mentioned by the earlier geographers in connection with the Kharlukh and Qirghīz. At one time the Khalaj were settled near Kābul. Jungar is Zungaria, Bamtak it is not easy to identify, and the reading is uncertain. See Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, I. 70, II. 20, 27.

called *Ṣahāḥ-al-Lughat*<sup>1</sup>. Other places are Kāsān, Tātār and Fay<sup>2</sup> which a poet has mentioned in his verses on the Ghulāms (Pages) of Sultān Sanjar, who had showed lack of bravery in their attack on the cavalry of the infidel Qārā Khitay. He says:

*Bravo! O ye strong hearted Turkish swordsmen  
Of the Tātār race from Fay and Kāsān;  
You, the king of the Seven Climes  
Has sent forth to conquest, taking you out of the ranks of the  
unfortunate*<sup>3</sup>.

**Tangut.** This region comprises many kingdoms which are of the Fifth Clime. The Mongols call the country Qāshīn. Its best known towns are Yārāqiyā and Qarātāsh<sup>4</sup>, both of which are cities of a certain size, with numerous buildings. Around lie extensive lands, having a numberless population of nomads.

**Jurjat**<sup>5</sup>. In the works of Rashīd-ad-Dīn this is mentioned as a long and broad kingdom which adjoins Cathay. They count it as possessing a population of 70,000 men.

**China (Chīn).** The Mongols call this land Manzī, while the Arabs name it Ṣīn. It is a broad wide kingdom stretching over the Second, Third and Fourth Climes. Its capital is called Machīn<sup>6</sup>, and it lies in the Second Clime, in longitude 125°, and latitude 22°. The population for the most part worship idols (being Manicheans) of the sect of Mānī the Painter. Among them live Moslems and Christians, but there are no Jews, and by reason of the fewness of the Moslems and the greater number of the idolaters, the preponderance in power is theirs. In this kingdom all arts and crafts have reached a high degree of perfection, and throughout the land are numerous great cities.

**Cathay (Khitāy).** This is a great kingdom of the Fourth and Fifth Climes. Its capital [ṛ·ḳ] is Khān Bālīgh in the Fifth Clime, whose longitude is 124°, and latitude 37°. This is a mighty city, and it was called originally Changdū; and Qubilāy Khān built another city outside the same<sup>7</sup>. Of other great towns and well-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, I. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Kāsān is in Farghānah, Fay in Sughd, according to Yāqūt. Tātār of course is not a place-name, but the name of the people.

<sup>3</sup> The remaining verses are not easy to translate, and they are not very important. They are by Iḥākīm Sharaf-ad-Dīn Kūshkakī, and will be found, with some variants, in the *Lubāb-al-Albāb* of ṢAwfī.

<sup>4</sup> According to Khwāndamīr when Changhīz Khān conquered Tangut, the towns he took possession of were Artākiyā, Jūrjah and Tangtāsh; the first and last probably being identical with those here mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Jurjat or Churchat in the Manchu country, otherwise called Churcheh or Churchīn, also written Jurchīd.

<sup>6</sup> Chīn or Ṣīn, otherwise Manzī, stands for South China, of which Machīn, here probably Canton, was the capital.

<sup>7</sup> Khitāy or Cathay represents North China, with the Moslem geographers. Changdū was the Summer Palace of the Emperors, which was captured by Changhīz Khān in 608 (1211). Qubilāy on his accession at first lived here, but afterwards moved



known districts are the following: Nanking, where a great river runs through the city, Tabaksik, Qal'ah Shikāt and Ṭalmāskū<sup>1</sup>. Further, and besides these there are many others.

**Khutan (Khoten).** A great kingdom of the Fourth and Fifth Climes. Of its celebrated towns are Kāshghar, New Talās<sup>2</sup>, Ṣayram and Yārkand, and further there are many other provinces with numerous dependencies.

**Khwārazm and Jurjāniyah.** This region comprises many provinces, lying in the Fifth Clime; and it is of the cold region. Its capital is Urganj, now generally known as Khwārazm (City). In former days it was first known as Fīl, then as Maṣūrah, and then it came to be called Urganj. The city of Kāt was known also as Jurjāniyah. Other towns are Hazārasp, Darghān, Khāsh, Ardakhushmīthan, Sāfardaz, Nūzvār, Kardurānkhās, the Village of Farātakīn (or Qarātakīn), Mādhmīniyah, Muzdākhaghān and Ghardamān. Khīvaq (Khīvah), which was the birth place of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrā, is a small provincial town; and this province has besides many other districts and numerous cities. The lands produce corn crops and excellent fruit, and in particular melons grow here exceedingly well.

**Dasht-i-Qipchāq.** This is of the Sixth Clime, its plains bear excellent pasturage, stretching to the north of the Caspian Sea, but there are here few houses or towns or villages. Most of the inhabitants are nomads of the plain. Its most celebrated town is Khazar, from which same the plain takes its name, being also called Dasht (or Desert of) Khazar; then there is Burṭās<sup>3</sup>, also Suvār, Muhtāl, Sarāy Bātū and Sarīr, which last is one month's journey away. Most of the lands here are swamps (*Hāmūn*). The crops consist of wheat in small quantity, but millet and other summer cereals are good both in quality and quantity. [۲۰۹] Grapes, water-melons and other fruits are here remarkably rare, and no cotton is grown. The pasturage, however, being

to Yenkin, which he rebuilt as Khān Bāligh, or Daytū. These facts are described by both Khwāndamīr and Mīrkhwān, the latter spelling the name Chūnglū. This Chānglū is the 'Xanadu' in Coleridge's poem of *Kubla Khān*. Daytū, or Taydū, means 'Great Court,' and Khān Bāligh 'the Khan's City.' This metropolis took the official name of Pekin, meaning 'Northern Court,' when the Ming dynasty expelled the Mongol descendants of Qubilāy in 770 (1368); but the name Pekin, 'Northern Court,' would appear to have been in use already under the Mongols, unofficially (see above, p. 235).

<sup>1</sup> Nanking, 'the Southern Court,' only received this name officially at a later date. What Chinese towns the next names represent it is difficult to say. There are numerous variants but all are unlike the names of Chinese towns mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭah (iv. 269 to 295) and other geographers.

<sup>2</sup> Talās or Talāsh is the town near Ṣayram, which the Arab geographers called Ṭarāz; but it lies very far away from Khoten.

<sup>3</sup> Burṭās, of the Khazar country on the Volga, is mentioned by Qazvīnī, and frequently by earlier authorities as Mas'ūdī (ii. 14). The people are said to be the Chuvases of to-day (Bretsneider, *Med. Res.* i. 311). The ruins of Saray are at Sehtrennoye Gorodok, about 70 miles above Astrakhan on the Akhtuba branch of the Volga.

excellent, horses and cattle are numerous, and the population for the most part subsists on the produce thereof. The climate is cold, and their water comes from springs and wells. Two mountains here are celebrated, named Arnāq and Kurmāq<sup>1</sup>, and there are the rivers Itil (Volga) and Turk. The people here have now for the most part accepted Islam.

**Lands of Gog and Magog.** These are of the Seventh Clime, and the folk bearing these names were from here. Towns there are few, but plains and districts are many, lying between the Sea of China and the Eastern Sea. The most notable place here is the fortress, where the guards of the Wall have their abode<sup>2</sup>; and these men are Moslems.

**Saqsin and Bulghār.** Two small cities of the Sixth Clime, to which belong many districts and plains. Most of the furs in trade are brought from here.

**Sind.** This is a great kingdom of the Second Clime. Its great cities are Manṣūrah, Multān, Lahore, Sulṭāniyyah (Hayāṭalah or Hayāṭiyah), Farshāvur (Peshavur) Malikfūr, Quṣḍār, Nahrawālah, and Quss, where there is much vegetation and the sugar-cane, also stuffs for clothes in great quantity. Next come Nārdīn and Qāmuhul, where the banana and the cocoa nut grow abundantly, and it lies on the frontier of India. Further Qaṣrān, Qallārī, Qandābīl, Qīqān, Qawj, Qanbulī and Qal'ah Naḥsam, where there is the greatest idol temple of India<sup>4</sup>. Also there are other districts, cities and plains without number. The people of Sind for the most part speak the Persian language. The climate is hot, and grain crops of all sorts are grown.

**Ṣaghāniyān.** A great and broad kingdom of the Third and Fourth Climes. It has numberless provinces and produces all kinds of crops. The people here are for the most part Moslems.

**Saqlāb (Sclavonia).** A broad kingdom of the Seventh Clime. Its most famous town is Madīnat-al-Fīl (the Elephant City), which is also called Qaṭāniyah<sup>5</sup>, [ṛṛ.] a very mighty place having

<sup>1</sup> Variants Artāq and Karnāq.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Saqsin is described by Qazvinī as of the Khazar country. According to Bretschneider (*Med. Res.* I. 296) it is the place called Saxi by Plano Carpini; and he further notes (I. 330) that there were Saxons in Transylvania in A.D. 1143 with whom this Saqsin may be connected. With regard to Bulghār (Great Bulgaria), its ruins still exist a few miles from the left bank of the Volga, some 70 miles below Kazan.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly we should read Qal'ah Barahman, the Castle of the Brahmins, understanding Sūmnāth. Yāqūt gives an account of Parshavur (see above, p. 245), Quss, Qāmuhul, Qaṣrān and Qīqān. Qawj is mentioned by Muqaddasī. Abū-l-Fidā gives Nahrawālah the old capital of Gujarat, and Qallārī. Sulṭāniyyah has many variants (among the rest Hayāṭalah, the Haytal Ephthalites or White Huns). It may be represented by Sulṭānpur on the river Biyah (cf. Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, v. 206). Nārdīn or Mārdīn is mentioned in the *Guzīdah* among the conquests of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (see also Elliot and Dowson, I. 59, II. 450, IV. 176). What Malikfūr—'King-town'—represents is uncertain. The other places mentioned will be found in *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*.

<sup>5</sup> Qazvinī names some cities and castles of the Sclavonians. As regards Qaṭāniyah

many dependencies. Very little corn is grown here, but the summer-wheat is good.

**Farkhār.** This is a kingdom of the Sixth Clime, having many provinces and dependencies. The people here are famous for the great beauty both of their figures and faces, and the following verses have reference to this<sup>1</sup>.

*All my suffering is from those fair ones of Farkhār,  
And none the less must I bear with it:  
For the fault lies not with those fair ones,  
As I will explain, if thou canst bear to hear:  
This trouble and mischief, O Lord, is from Thee,  
Though no one yet has dared to say so;  
Those lips and teeth of Turkish moon-faced maidens,  
Thou shouldst not have created so fair to see;  
For certes the longing for their lips and teeth  
Makes us remorsefully gnaw with our teeth our own lips.*

**Qirghīz and Salangā.** A kingdom of the Sixth Clime, the capital of which is Qarāqurum, built by Ogotāy Qāan<sup>2</sup>. Its climate is very cold, water is plentiful but crops are scanty, its chief produce being summer-wheat. The pasture-lands are very rich, stretching as far as the river Onon, which was the original Yūrt (or Camp) of Changhīz Khan<sup>3</sup>. Now in Qarāqurum Ogotāy Qāan constructed many fine buildings, such as kiosks, palaces and the like, for this was the place where he resided, and hence it took the name of Qarshī (the Palace).

there appears to be a confusion between *Suqlāb* or Slavonia, and *Suqaliyah* or Sicily, where Catania was a famous city.

<sup>1</sup> According to Dawlat Shāh, Farkhār is in Badakhshān above Tāliqān: but there are said to be other places of the same name in Khutlān and on the Chinese border. The verses which follow are from a celebrated poem by Nāsir-i-Khusraw, portions of which have been translated by Professor E. G. Browne (*Year amongst the Persians*, p. 480) who gives the introductory lines which Mustawfī has here omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Qirghīz, also spelt Qirghīz (and in other ways) was more generally written Khirkhīz by the Arab geographers. Mustawfī (*Gusīdah*, at the beginning of the Section on the Mongols) gives the following as the original boundaries of Mongolia: 'The frontier of this country to the east was Khitay (Northern China), to the west it reached the country of Uighūr, to the north were the Qirghīz and Salangā, while to the south it adjoined Tangut and Tibet.' This passage has been often quoted and some of the names misread (e.g. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, p. 360). Of other places here mentioned, the river Selenga, with its tributary the Orkhon, flows out into the S.E. corners of Lake Baikal. To the westward lies the lake known as Qirghīz Nor, and here the Qirghīz country was next to that of the Uighūrs. (See Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* I. 57, 100, 225.) The capital Qarāqurum (Caracorum, 'Black Camp' in Mongolian) lay between the Selenga and the Orkhon, due south of the western end of Lake Baikal; its ruins being occupied at the present day by the Buddhist monastery of Erdenitzu. Ogotāy Khān was the son of Changhīz, and his nephew Qubilāy afterwards transferred his capital from Qarāqurum to Khān Bālīgh (Cambaluc), subsequently known as Pekin (see above, p. 251). According to Khwāndamīr and Mīrkhwān among the many sons of Yafat (Japhet) Turk was the eldest, and Ghuzz the youngest, 'who built the City of Salangā.'

<sup>3</sup> The river Onon is an affluent of the Kerulan; near Urga.

**Qandahār.** A great kingdom of the Third and Fourth Climes. Its greatest cities are Qarā Khālūk and Walīshālūk, which is the capital; also Zāyidandān and Aghnāb<sup>1</sup>. There are further numerous other towns, districts and plains, all of which produce corn [٢١١] with some little fruit crop.

**Kābul.** A kingdom of the Third Clime, possessing many towns and lands. The sugar-cane grows here, with some other crops of the hot lands.

**Kashmīr.** This is a great city of the Third Clime; having a mighty wall and ditch. Many provinces of the Third and Fourth Climes are of its dependencies. The population, since they have mixed with the Turk tribes, are very handsome, being in fact celebrated for their good looks and fine figures.

**Kaymāk<sup>2</sup>.** This country is of the Sixth Clime, and comprises provinces and plains: also farmsteads. There is much cultivation of the land, though towns and villages are few. It is a cold country, the raising of crops will succeed, also horses and cattle are plentiful.

**Māchīn.** A great and extensive kingdom which the Mongols know as Nankiyās. It is of the First and Second Climes, and its capital is the city of Khansāy, which some call Siyāhān<sup>3</sup>. They say that in all the habitable world there is no greater city than this, or at any rate that in the regions of the east there is no larger town. There is a lake in the midst of the city, six leagues in circumference, and the houses of the town stand round its borders. The climate is warm, and both the sugar-cane and the rice crop produce abundantly; but dates are so rare, and difficult to come by, that one *Mann*-weight of these is bartered for ten *Manns* of sugar. Most of their meat is fish, but beef is eaten, and the mutton is excellent, being exceedingly expensive. The population is so great that they have several thousand—some say ten thousand—watchmen and guards to oversee the city. Most of the people are Infidels, yet the Moslems though so few in number have the power in their hands.

**Transoxiana.** A great kingdom of the Fourth Clime. Of its famous cities are Bukhārā and Samarqand of Sughd, Khujand, Zarnūq and Sawrān<sup>4</sup>, Kishsh, Badakhshān, Tirmid,

<sup>1</sup> What towns these names stand for it is difficult to say. Many variants occur, and apparently no other authority quotes these names.

<sup>2</sup> The Kaymāk Khirkhūz are mentioned, together with other Turk tribes, by Yāqūt, Ibn Khurdādhbih and other geographers.

<sup>3</sup> Māchīn, as already said, is the equivalent of Manzī which is South China. Khansāy is Kinsay, the great city described at length by Marco Polo, now known as Hangchaufu; Siyāhān probably being a corruption of Si-hu, the Chinese name for the great lake. The explanation of the name Nankiyās appears to be that it is a Mongol corruption of a Chinese word meaning Barbarians.

<sup>4</sup> The reading Sawrān is conjectural, Zarnūq is mentioned in the *Ẓafar Nāmāh*, but its position is unknown.

Ashnās<sup>1</sup> and Baykand, Ushrūsanah, Ūzkand, Utrār, Chāch (Tashkend), Isbijāb, Nasaf, Nakhshab, Ṭarāz, Fārāb, Fanākat, Saghnāk and Kant<sup>2</sup>. It is stated in the *Suwar-al-Aqālīm* that by report [۱۷۱] Bukhārā in former times had a circular wall, the diameter of which was 12 leagues. Sughd (Sogdiana) is famous as being one of the Earthly Paradises; and from Bukhārā to Samarqand you travel for eight days, along the river bank, through one garden after the other. The people of Transoxiana are friendly to strangers, and a humane folk. In this country there are upwards of 20,000 villages, each with cultivated lands, and for the most part the population thereof go armed and are warriors, for by reason of their constant affrays with the Infidels it is necessary that every man should have weapons and a coat of mail.

• **Makrān.** A great country of the Second Clime, and it is 12 days' journey across. The capital is Fannazbūr, lying in longitude 93° and in latitude 24°. The climate is hot, and water is from a river. Other towns of this kingdom are Tīz, Maṣṣūrah<sup>3</sup> and Fahl-Fahrah. There is much cultivation here, with many farms, and villages without number.

• **Maks and Bāshqarūd**<sup>4</sup>. These are two large towns of the Seventh Clime, having many lands and pastures belonging to them: most of their inhabitants are nomads of the plain.

**Hind (India).** This comprises many kingdoms by land and (numerous islands of the) sea. They have mostly a hot climate, and by reason of the broad area occupied by all these, it is said that India covers one sixth of the habitable earth<sup>5</sup>. In this work we can only name a few of the most celebrated places here, and as it is well known, the number of people and troops in those kingdoms is quite beyond count. Its greatest city is Delhi in the Second Clime, this being now the capital of the Sultan. A city of almost equal size is Duwīrqīr<sup>6</sup> (Dawlatābād) of the Second Clime. Then there is Zaytūn and Ceylon of the First Clime; also Sūmnāth and Qanawj of the Second Clime; Cambay and

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise written Chinās.

<sup>2</sup> This must stand either for Kand near Khujandah, or for Jand on the lower Jaxartes, both mentioned by Yāqūt.

<sup>3</sup> Already mentioned as one of the chief towns of Sind.

<sup>4</sup> The Bashkirds are mentioned by Qazvīnī, who spells the name Bāshgurt; also Yāqūt, who gives the narrative of Ibn Fadlān's mission to them in 309 (921). Who the Maks (or Makash) were is uncertain, possibly we should read Makar or Magar, in which case the Magyars are meant. But if Makash be the true reading, this may refer to the Mokshas or Bokshas, the Mordvins who are of Finnish origin. See Bretschneider, *Met. Res.* I. 311.

<sup>5</sup> Hind, with the Moslem geographers, was Greater India, including the Indian Archipelago, with part of Southern China, and thence across the Indian Ocean to the East Coast of Africa.

<sup>6</sup> Duwīrqīr, or Duwayrqīr, in the Deccan, is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭah (iv. 46). Zaytūn is the great port of Southern China, described by Marco Polo, which is either Twanchaufu, or Chwanchaufu, on the river entering the Amoy harbour.

Gujarāt, Murgh and Māh likewise of the Second Clime. Next come 'Coromandel (Ma'bar), Maqdashū, Malabar, Talang and Qal'ah, this city lying on the frontier of China, where there are the famous tin smitheries, for which reason tin is often called *Qala'i*<sup>1</sup>. Lastly come Arūr and Tānah<sup>2</sup>, with other celebrated towns and districts, beyond count or compare. Now many, as for instance Malabar, [۱۱۷] Gujarāt and Cambay have each of them 70,000 villages, together with very many dependencies belonging to them.

**Yaman.** A great kingdom in the hot country, being of the First and Second Climes. Its capital at the present day is the city of Ta'izz, but of old it was Ṣan'ā, and in Ṣan'ā the climate was so equitable that one might spend all four seasons in this one place. The Castle of Ghumdān, one of the most magnificent and beautiful buildings in the whole world, stood in Ṣan'ā, and over its portal there were written these words: *Verily we have told him: 'For ever shalt thou not stay,' nay rather we have told him: 'Go forth in this very hour.'* It was the Caliph Othman who ruined this building. In Ṣan'ā too was the church known as Kanisah Qullays which Abrahah ibn Ṣabāḥ built. It was one of the mightiest buildings of the earth, so that the mind was amazed by its grandeur and splendour; but the first of the Abbasid Caliphs Saffāḥ threw it down in ruin, carrying off therefrom its countless treasures. The city of 'Aden is only a provincial town, but being a harbour it is much renowned. Ḥaḍramawt too is a small city, and the Prophet Hūd—upon whom be peace—is buried here. 'Omān is the largest town in this district and the Sea of 'Oman takes its name therefrom. The land of Mahrah is a great district here, and its largest city is called Shiḥr. The kingdom of Yamāmah according to some books is included in Yaman, others count it as of Ḥijāz. In the capital, and in some of the villages of Yamāmah, the Demons built a lofty palace for king Solomon—upon whom be peace—and it was constructed of huge stones; further (at one time) this city of Yamāmah was his capital. Other towns in Yamāmah are Falj, where Qays 'Aylān lived; Zarnūq, Qarqarī and Arūn. In Yaman there are also other famous places, as for instance

<sup>1</sup> Abū-l-Fidā describes Sūmnāt, Qanawj, Ma'bar, or the Coromandel Coast, with Malibār or Manibār, the Malabar Coast. Cambay and Talang are noticed by Ibn Baṭūṭah. Qal'ah, otherwise Kallah, is the famous emporium for tin on the Malacca peninsula, known as Quedah (see above, p. 224). What places Murgh and Māh stand for, it is difficult to say, and the reading is very uncertain; possibly we should read Farakh and Bahār, where there was a celebrated Treasure and Temple. Maqdashū is Magadaxo on the East Coast of Africa, near Zanzibar, which is described by Yāqūt as a great place for trade in sandal-wood, ebony, ambergris and ivory.

<sup>2</sup> Arūr, if this be the right reading, is spelt Ar-Rūr by Muqaddasī. Abū-l-Fidā gives it with the spelling of our text, and he also speaks of Tānah near Bombay.

Filān, Farghān, Qālimah and Qalyāthah<sup>1</sup>. Further Ibn Khurdādbih states that the Abandoned Well, and the Lofty Towers which are both mentioned in the Qurān (ch. XXII. v. 44) were in the territory of Al-Bawn, which is of the kingdom of Yaman. The wondrous stories that are told about the fortifications of the Lofty Towers need not to be repeated. But in the Qurān (ch. IV. v. 80) an allusion is made to these buildings; [٢١٤] where it is said, in the word of God most high—*Where ever ye be death will overtake you, even though ye be in the Lofty Towers*. According to the commentators this edifice was built in bronze, brass, tin and iron, by king Rass, in such a form that there was no outlet, and on its walls many thousand warders were stationed to keep guard. The Men of Rass who are mentioned in the Qurān (ch. XXV. v. 40 and ch. L. v. 12) take their name from this place; and in the *History* composed by Qudā'ī<sup>2</sup> it is stated that the destruction of the People of 'Ād took place in a tract of country lying between 'Omān and Ḥaḍramawt which is of the dependencies of Yaman.

<sup>1</sup> These and the previously mentioned names are all most uncertain: for both Yaman and Yamamah are but scantily described by the Arab geographers.

<sup>2</sup> Died at Cairo in 454 (1062), see Brockelmann, I. 343.

## CHAPTER XXIII

Foreign Countries: to the westward of Īrān. Little Armenia. Ossetes and Russians. Ifrīqiyah. Alān and Sūdāq. Andalusia, and the City of Brass. The Arab Desert. The Berber Country. Circassia. Abyssinia. Hījāz. Himyar. Sabā. Syria. Upper Egypt and the Almohad Country. Tripoli (of Barbary). Toledo. Tangiers. The Frank Country and Byzantium. Palestine. Coptos. Caracorum. Qayruwān Qulzum (Suez). Lower Egypt. Maghrib, the City of Women, and the City of the Children of Israel. The Two Pyramids. Greece

The Western Side. This comprises twenty-seven kingdoms.

**Little Armenia.** Of the Fourth Clime. Its most famous cities are Sis, Qarīn and Tarūn, but there are many other towns, also districts and lands without count. The climate here is cold though generally equitable; most cereals, and fruits of all kinds, being grown.

**Ās and Rūs<sup>1</sup>.** Of the Seventh Clime. Its largest cities are Kūtābah (Kitovia or Kieff) and Arbā. There are many other towns, and plains with excellent pasture-lands. The people here have cattle and horses in countless herds, for the wealth and sustenance of these folk is therefrom. The Russian furs are found here in great quantities.

**Ifrīqiyah.** A broad and extensive kingdom of the Second and Third Climes. Its most celebrated towns are Tripoli, Mahdiyyah, Tunis, Tāhart, Sijilmāsah, Constantine, Qafṣah, Hāmmah, Sumāt, Milyānah and Qamūdah<sup>2</sup>. Its capital was Carthage, which from the exceeding excellence of the city was likened to Paradise; and its walls were of marble. It fell to ruin during the Caliphate of °Othman, [۷۰] when there were civil wars between Moslems. Of its remaining relics are still to be seen two columns of marble, each 15 ells in circumference with a height of 40 ells; from which some idea may be formed of its other buildings. At the present day the capital is called Ifrīqiyah<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Ās represents the Oss or Ossetes, the Rūs are the Russians. The name of the second town mentioned is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Ifrīqiyah is Northern Africa, west of Egypt along the Mediterranean coast to Maghrib or Morocco. Mahdiyyah lies south of Tunis, and was the first Fatimid capital. Tāhart (Tiaret) and Constantine are well-known towns in Algeria; Sijilmāsah, now a ruin in the oasis of Tafilelt, was a populous city for the trans-Sahara trade in the time of Ibn Baṭūṭah. Qafṣah lies to the south of Qayruwān. What particular hot-spring Hāmmah (or Hammah) represents is not stated. Ibn Hawqal mentions one near Qafṣah. Sumāt is probably Great Sumāt near Qayruwān mentioned by Muqaddasī. Some MSS. give Masilah for Milyānah (both in Algeria), also Bul-yānah mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭah lying south of Tunis. Qamūdah is given by Muqaddasī, but there is also the variant Qamnūr near Sijilmāsah, as mentioned by Idriṣī.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say Qayruwān, see below, p. 265.



**Alān and Sūdāq**<sup>1</sup>. A great kingdom of the Fifth Clime, with spacious lands and many plains. The people here for the most part are nomads, owning horses and cattle, and their livelihood is from these.

**Andalus (Spain)**. A mighty and spacious kingdom of the Third and Fourth Climes. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is reported that in old days Spain was counted as part of the Roman Empire, but since the times of Islam it has formed a kingdom by itself. Its capital formerly was Cordova, and throughout the west there was no greater, wealthier, or more flourishing city. It had stone walls, and its people were very opulent. At the present day it has come to be but of medium extent, and the capital of Spain is now Seville. Of its other famous cities are Jaen, Saragossa, Tudela, Lerida, Faraj<sup>2</sup> which is also known as Guadalaxara, Cuenca, Carcassonne, Alcantara, Castilla (close to Elvira), Calatayud, Almeria, Valencia, Cadiz, Truxillo, Coria, Merida, Ecija, Cabra, and Rayyah (Regio, the district of Malaga). Granada also is a fine city, with three Friday Mosques. Firrich is a large town where there are iron mines and numerous marble quarries; of its fruits hazel nuts are abundant. Then there is the district called Buḥayrah (the Lake, Lago de la Janda), with many towns and villages, where the olive grows abundantly<sup>3</sup>. The City of Brass, which is one of the most wonderful constructions in the world, is of these parts. The circuit of its walls is 4 leagues, and their height to the battlements is more than 50 ells, and there are no gates. Some say that Alexander the Great built it, but the more reliable account is that it was constructed by the demons at the command of king Solomon—upon whom be peace—and this is the view given by the commentators in explanation of the verse of the Qurān (ch. XXXIV. v. 11) where God most high says—*And we made a fountain of molten brass to flow for Solomon, and of [صۛۛ] the Jinns were some who worked in his presence, by the will of his Lord*. The walls of this city were made from that fountain of molten brass. But few of the children of men have ever been there; but in the time of the Omayyad Caliphs (of Cordova) one man got there, and on his return he gave the Caliph an account of the place. The Caliph thereupon sent men back with him, and they heard from within the city a mighty voice crying out, but by reason of the might of the walls they could find no means of effecting an entry. For as often as by some contrivance anyone of them reached the

<sup>1</sup> The Alans are allied to the Ās or Ossetes. Sūdāq is Soldaia on the south-eastern coast of the Crimea, west of Kaffa.

<sup>2</sup> Called by Abū-l-Fidā Madīnah-al-Faraj, the meaning is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt notices Carcassonne in Provence, and Castilla. The remaining towns will be found in the text (with translation by Dozy and De Goeje) of Idrīsī, and this is the source whence our author got his list, as is shown by the notice of the mines and quarries of Firrich.

top of the wall, he would forthwith give a laugh and then fall down within the city. At last they promised a certain one much money, and having made a ladder whereby this man should get to the summit of the wall and thence look down into the city, they bound a strong rope about his middle, and he thus went up the ladder. But as soon as he too began to look down into the city he gave a laugh and would have fallen within the wall had they not pulled at the rope. But in doing so the man was cut into two halves, and one half fell into the city, while the other being caught by the rope was pulled back by his companions. What had taken place within the city, none ever knew for certain; but those who had been sent by the Caliph reported to him it was supposed that King Solomon had, probably, imprisoned the demons within the city, and that these happenings were of their doing. Near by the City of Brass was a lake, where the waves ran high, and round the same many reeds grew. Long before the time of the discoveries just mentioned the first governor, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, in the days of the Omayyads (of Syria) had despatched fishermen to this lake who had brought up from its depths vessels made of copper soldered down and sealed. When one was broken open, a form, like that of a man but of gold and fully armed, came forth, and flew into the air crying out—*O Prophet of God, never will we do this again against thee!* On which, those who were present understood that Solomon—upon whom be peace—had imprisoned the demons therein. Near the City of Brass there had been set up two stone tablets, on which were inscribed certain details concerning the (future) prophets—peace be upon them all—and mention here was also made of our Prophet—upon whom be peace—and many profitable admonitions and precepts were added thereto. The above account is taken from the *History of Maghrib*, and Qazvīnī states that the reason why every one at the sight of the City of Brass fell to laughter, was that therein lay a mountain of *Bāhat* (or Laughing) stone. Now the peculiarity of this stone is, that when any man casts his eyes thereon, he falls into convulsions of laughter, and he laughs so violently that he forthwith dies; [۱۷۱] therefore the demons have great content in the presence there of this stone. Yāqūt further reports<sup>1</sup> that the peninsula of Gabes (or rather Cadiz) is at the western extremity of Andalusia, and here they have set a talisman, which is to prevent the entry of the Berber folk into Spain; for the Spanish people were ever greatly molested by the Berbers. This talisman, however, in the year 540 (1145) became of no avail<sup>2</sup>.

**The Arab Desert.** This includes many plains and mountains

<sup>1</sup> In Yāqūt, however, a different account is given of Gabes.

<sup>2</sup> That is when the Berber Almohads overthrew the dynasty of the Almoravids and conquered Spain.

being of the Second and Third Climes. In length it extends from Syria to the Persian Gulf, and in breadth from Mecca to Najaf, being each way 200 leagues across. The inhabitants are nomad Arabs of innumerable tribes, and although the heat is very great and the land waterless, yet the climate here is most healthy. In regard to the excellence of the climate it is quoted as follows: *Obedience spake and said: 'I take my seat in Syria': the Plague replied: 'And I go with you.' Fertility spake and said: 'I go to 'Irāq.' Hypocrisy replied: 'And I go with you.' Then Health spake and said: 'I go to live in the Desert': and Healing replied: 'And I go with you.'* Thus the people who live in the desert suffer little from illness, whereby as it is reported a doctor was asked—'How comes it, think you, that the desert folk need no doctors?' He replied—'For the same reason that no wild animal needs the veterinary surgeon.' In these regions corn crops and vegetables grow well, and in divers parts there are numerous inhabited places. Their wealth and sustenance is by the yearly foaling of their camels and horses. Then they have cattle, and eat also the meat of various wild animals, such even as the Sūsmār (or green lizard), and other such like, whereby they are ever in a state of legal impurity.

**The Berber Country.** This kingdom lies in the First and Second Climes. Its most celebrated place is Fās<sup>1</sup>, a very large city near the sea shore, having water in abundance, so that its river turns 600 mills. There are here, too, many other towns, great and small, with fine buildings.

**Circassia.** This is a kingdom of the Sixth Clime. It includes many plains and pasture lands, its inhabitants are nomads, and these folk get their living from the produce of their herds and flocks.

**Abyssinia.** This kingdom is of the First and Second Climes. Its capital is Jarmā<sup>2</sup>, in the First Clime, lying in longitude 30° and in latitude 9°, which [ṙṙ] is a large town, having many districts and dependencies. Of other famous cities here are Bujā, Zayla<sup>c</sup> and 'Aydhāb, with other places, for there are numerous provincial towns in this province.

**Hijāz.** A kingdom of the Second Clime. Its glory lies in the possession of Mecca and Medina—which may God ennoble—but these cities have already been described in Book I. Of its other celebrated towns are Ṭāif and Najrān, this last the abode of the People of the Pits (mentioned in the Qurān, ch. LXXXV. v. 4), also Hġjr of the Banī Rabī'ah tribe. Further Qarn-al-

<sup>1</sup> Fez, in Morocco, it need hardly be remarked, in point of fact lies many miles from the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Jarmā or Jarmī has been supposed to be a clerical mistake for Jūmā, representing Axum (Xuma): cf. Abū-l-Fidā, Reinaud's translation, II. 228. For Bujā and Zayla<sup>c</sup> see Abū-l-Fidā.

Manāzil and Tihāmah, with many other towns and plains. The people here make their livelihood by commerce, and by their horses.

**Himyar.** A kingdom of much extent in the First Clime.

**Sabā.** A kingdom of the Second and Third Climes. It is alluded to in the Qurān (ch. XXXIV. v. 14) where God—be He exalted—says :—*A sign there was to Sabā in their dwelling places:—two gardens, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left: 'Eat ye of your Lord's supplies, and give thanks to him: goodly is the country, and gracious is the Lord.'*

**Shām (Syria).** This is of the Third and Fourth Climes, and its capital is the city of Damascus, which has already been described. Of other famous places are the following: Hims (Emessa), Hamāh, Halab (Aleppo), Akkah (Acre), Salamīyah, Antākiyah (Antioch), Lādhiqiyyah, Ajnadayn, Qinnasrīn, Tabariyyah (Tiberias), Shamsāt, the Balqā, Fiḡ, Şūr (Tyre), Tarābulūs, Ba'albak, Mar'ash, Raḡbah, Dayr-Khālīd, Bīrah, Tadmur (Palmyra) and Ūrdun (the Jordan). The finest building in this kingdom was the Mosque or Church in Antioch, which is thus described in the *Diary* of Malik Shāh ;—'In the Mosque of this place is to be seen a column, four square, made of a single beam of Sanawbar wood, which is 40 ells in height, and the side 1 ell in width. In the church is to be seen a dome covering a space measuring 40 ells square, with a height of 80 ells; and the lowest section thereof is built of squared stones, the next section being of burnt bricks well-mortared, while the uppermost part has a ceiling of wood, the outer roof being covered with tin plates. Other buildings in this town are of a like magnificence, and in the city of Tadmur (Palmyra) also there are many mighty and magnificent constructions.' In the *Ṣurwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that in earlier days Syria was accounted as a part of the Roman empire, but subsequent to the times of Islam it has been reckoned among the kingdoms of Īrān, and thus even down to the year 571 (1175), when the Ayyubite Sultans annexed it to Egypt, [١١٧٥] and to Egypt it still now belongs. The fortress of Tabūk lies on the frontier between Syria and the Tihāmah. The people of Al-Aykah (mentioned in the Qurān, ch. XV. v. 78, and elsewhere) were of this place, to whom the prophet Shu'ayb (Jethro) was sent. Madyan (Midian), which was the abode of the prophet Shu'ayb, lies six days march distant therefrom: the tribe of Madyan taking their name from the place. Or according to another account they are named after Madyan son of Abraham, and the place was named after him. In Madyan is the Well where Moses drew water for the sheep belonging to the daughters of Shu'ayb. The story is well known, and is alluded to in the Qurān (ch. XXVIII. vv. 22 to 24) where God—be He exalted—has said : *And when (Moses) arrived at the water of Madyan, he*

*found at it a company of men watering. And he found beside them two women keeping back their flock. 'Why do ye,' said he, 'thus?' They said 'We shall not water till the shepherds shall have driven off: for our father is very aged.' So he watered for them, then retired to the shade.* The Rock of Moses, according to one account, is to be seen at Antioch; and the Cavern of the Companions of the Cave (the Sleepers of Ephesus) is in a mountain on the frontier of Tarsus.

**Ṣaʿīd (Upper Egypt) and the Country of ʿAbd-al-Mūmin (the Almohad).** This is a great kingdom of the Second and Third Climes. The capital and the most famous of its cities is Marrākish (Morocco City), and there are innumerable other provincial towns and places. Most of the country is of the hot region. The population have received Islam, and reached a high degree in matters of piety and faith, and they attend to no other matters than the Law (of the Qurān).

**Tripoli (of Barbary).** A kingdom of the Second and Third Climes. Its most famous city is Fazzān, but it has many other towns.

**Toledo.** This is a fine city situated on the summit of a high hill. Most of its houses are built of stone, and it lies close to the river Tagus, whose stream is almost as great as that of the Tigris. It is of the Fifth Clime, and in many books it is counted as being in Andalusia: others hold it to be a kingdom by itself, for many broad lands and districts belong to it. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that in this country there are many Sammūr (Sable-martens).

**Tangiers.** A great kingdom of the Second and Third Climes. Its capital is the City of Tangiers, to which belong many districts and regions with provincial towns, and dependencies.

**The Frank Country.** This is a great kingdom of the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Climes [ṛṽ•], and beyond these again. Its capital is the city of Byzantium, which is now called Constantinople, and which was built by the second Emperor of the Romans, whose name was Constantine. It is also known as Istambūl, and it is of the Sixth Clime, its longitude being 49° 50', and its latitude 45°. When it was founded the sign of Cancer was in the ascendant. Ibn Khurdādbih states that the city stands on a peninsula, which on three sides, east, west and south is washed by the Greek Sea, while on the north it is connected with the mainland. From east to west the peninsula measures 6 leagues across. The city has two walls; and the height of the inner wall is 72 ells, its width is 12 ells and it has 1225 towers, on each of which monks keep watch. The outer wall is 42 ells in height and 8 ells in width. Between the two walls lies an open space measuring 60 ells across. There is in this city a church, named after the disciples Peter and Paul, the length of which is 300 ells,

and it is 200 ells in the breadth, the height of its walls being 100 ells. The ceiling is of brass plates, and these too cover all the walls inside in the fore-part of the church. There is also in the city another church which is called the Holy House, it is one mile in length, and here is the altar where they make sacrifice. Near this altar is a throne of green stone, like the emerald, 24 ells long by 6 ells broad, which is fixed against the wall of the fore-part of the sanctuary, and round this wall are set images of Jesus—upon whom be peace—and of Mary his Mother, beside whom stand twelve figures representing the Disciples. All these statues are made of pure gold, and each is two and a half ells in height, the eyes being formed of resplendent red rubies. This church has 28 golden doors, and near to 1000 *Mann*-weight of brass and copper has been used herein, besides ivory, ebony, sandal wood and teak, with other materials beyond count. There is in the city so great a number of houses, that there are more than 4000 bath-houses, and there are churches in the like proportion.

**Palestine** (Filastīn). This is a great kingdom of the Third Clime, which takes its name from Filastīn son of Aram son of Shem the son of Noah: but some say Filastīn was of the progeny of Ham, [xvi] and others account him of the sons of Japhet. In some books Palestine is reckoned as part of the kingdom of Syria, but in most it is held to be a separate province. Its capital is the Holy City (Jerusalem) which has already been described in Book I. Of its other famous towns are these: Kanʿān (Canaan) and Zughar (Zoar), Ramlah, the Balqā, Gaza and Ascalon, Bārīn, Shalīm (Salem), Šāfiyah and Arihā (Jericho), which last was the capital city of the Giants who oppressed Moses—upon whom be peace; but according to another account their capital was in the Balqā. The cities of the people of Lot (Sodom and Gomorrah), according to most authorities, were situated in Palestine to the south-east of Jerusalem, in a district that was extremely fertile and pleasant. One account says there were seven cities, another gives the number as five only, to wit Šabʿah, Šughar, Ghumurrah, Admāh and Sadūm, which last was the largest city of all. Each city had a great population with many villages in its dependency. The cause of the destruction of these cities was their abundant abominations, and disobedience to the commands of God. The story thereof is well known, being given at length in all histories and commentaries. At the present day their place is known as the Place that is Overthrown and Overwhelmed. Here no plant grows, and there is profound gloom everywhere, for without fail a place that has suffered the wrath of God is ever thus. Now according to some accounts these cities stood in the Great Desert between Kirmān and Quhistān (in Persia) where highway-men make their expeditions; but the authority for this attribution is not reliable.

The pre-eminence of Palestine, according to the Commentary of Kalbī, is set forth in the words of the Qurān (ch. v. v. 24)\*where God—be He exalted—has said: *Enter, O my people, the Holy Land, which God hath destined for you*; and again He has also referred in the Qurān (ch. XXI. v. 71) *to the Land which we have blessed for all human beings*, which evidently relates to Palestine<sup>1</sup>.

**Quft** (Coptos). This is of the Second Clime; and it is a very spacious district, being both broad and long—none more so.

**Qarāqurum** (Caracorum). This is of the Seventh Clime, and being a broad district is mostly inhabited by nomads. They have few villages or towns, and their sustenance is chiefly from their flocks and herds.

**Qayruwān**. A great city of the Third Clime. It was the capital of the Bani Aghlab, and immediately outside Qayruwān they had built the city of Raqqādah, ultimately joining the two towns to make one, which came to have many other townships and districts of its dependencies. Of such were Qābis (Gabes) [٢٠٢] lying 1 league from the sea, a fine large city, where excellent stuffs are woven, and there is fruit in plenty here. Further Zawilah and Šabrah of Qayruwān, Sūsah and Safāqis (Sfax), besides many other places<sup>2</sup>.

**Qulzum** (Clysma: Suez). This is a moderate sized town of the dependencies of Egypt, in the Second Clime. It lies on the Red Sea, called the Sea of Qulzum which thus takes its name from this city, more especially in its beginning, in the part where it is called the Tongue of the Sea. This city more properly should be included in the description of Egypt, but the Sea to which it gives its name being so well known it seemed better to give a separate notice of it here.

**Misr** (Lower Egypt). A kingdom long and broad, of the Third Clime. Cairo and Alexandria we have already described in Book III, but there are here many other famous districts and towns, such as Damietta, Manf (Memphis), ʿArīsh, Antūhī, Aylah, Fuwwah, Qays and Mīnyah<sup>3</sup>. Then there is Quft (Coptos), where there is a pious foundation (*Waqf*) dating from the caliphate of ʿAlī; and Yāqūt states that excepting here and at Ḥubs al Ju-yūshī there are no other such foundations in all Egypt. The Fayyūm in the time of Joseph—peace be upon him—was a desolate plain, and Joseph by command of God most high brought thither a canal from the Nile, and in the space of seventy days converted this plain into populous and well cultivated lands;

<sup>1</sup> These various places in Palestine will be found described in *Palestine under the Moslems*.

<sup>2</sup> For these see Idrīsī. Zawilah was one half of the city of Mahdiyyah; Šabrah was the outer half of Qayruwān.

<sup>3</sup> See Idrīsī, *passim*. Aylah, at the head of the Gulf of ʿAqabah on the Mecca road, is of course outside Egypt.

thereupon Pharaoh said 'This indeed is as the work of one thousand days'—(in Arabic *Alf Yaum*) which coming to be pronounced Al-Fayyūm became the name of the district. Joseph laid out many other districts along this canal, and still at this present day it is as the granary of Egypt. The district begins at what is known as Old Miṣr.

**Maghrib (the West).** This is of the First Clime, and beyond; for it is a mighty limitless kingdom. Its greatest town is Madīnat-al-Fīl (the City of the Elephant), otherwise called Qatāniyah<sup>1</sup>, which is a very large place, with many wonderful churches. Also there are Ghānah and Qimrāṭah and Qaṣr-al-Fulūs (the Palace of Farthings) with many other great towns<sup>2</sup>. In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that in Maghrib, down near the equator where the wind comes from, there is a desert measuring near 500 leagues across every way, most of which is moving-sand. Here the heat and drought prevent any habitations, and by some account this is named Mafāzah-al-ʿĀlij (the Wilderness of the Sand-hill). A Tradition of the Prophet—upon whom be peace—affirms that he said: [ص۳] *He who, when he is about to lie down on his carpet to sleep, recites the verse—'I ask pardon of God, and there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal before whom I make repentance'—verily God will forgive him his sins, even though they be (innumerable) as the sands of the Wilderness of ʿĀlij.* In the *Jāmiʿ-al-Hikāyat* it is related that on one side of this desert there is moving-sand, across which is but a single road, and this road is only open one day in each week, namely on the Saturday. In the middle of these sands stands a city where all the inhabitants are women<sup>3</sup>, and if a man should manage to get there, by the effect of the climate his manhood goes from him, and in a short time he dies. Among these women the act of generation is effected by means of a certain spring, in which when the woman has sat she becomes pregnant and bears a daughter. For if at any time a boy is born, he dies in childhood. Also when these women have their courses, if they sit in this spring the second day their courses return upon them, and the issue is so abundant that they come near to dying therefrom. By the ordinance of God most high these women have no feeling of desire, and this to such a point that if a woman from there comes to our lands, and a man goes in unto her, she is mightily offended. After a time, however, our climate has its good effect, and she comes to have love for a man. These women have accepted Islam, and in the matter of faith and practice have attained a high degree: and in the management of worldly affairs, where

<sup>1</sup> This apparently is a repetition in error of what has been said above (p. 252) about Catania in the Slavonic country, or otherwise in Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> For Ghānah see Idrīsī.

<sup>3</sup> Qazvīnī mentions the City of Women.



elsewhere men labour—as in agriculture, and in the crafts and the like—with them women alone do the work. Among them all things are in common, and all riches with them are shared equally. High and low station do not exist, and disputes as to sovereignty and loss of goods have no place among them. It is further forbidden for any of them personally to acquire riches or to seek wealth, and they desire no ornaments, and being true believers none among them is addicted to vileness, for in verity they hold to religion and to righteousness. Surely women such as these are to be preferred for excellence to most men.

In another part of this desert, among the moving-sands, is a city where one of the tribes of the Children of Israel is settled. These people, after the destruction of Pharaoh and his Egyptians, made their petition to God most high, saying—‘O Lord leave us not yet again among men to be afflicted by their evil doings, but lead us to some place where we may be able to worship Thee free from the evil suggestion and distraction of Satan.’ [۲۸۴] Wherefore, by the favour of God most high, they were set free of the Satanic evil promptings, being brought to this spot where the sand became as their bulwark. For here, in every year, there was but one day during which the road was open to their country, so that sometimes perchance other men might have knowledge of their state, and assist them in their duty to God—be He exalted and glorified. Mention also is made of them in the words of the Qurān (ch. VII. v. 159) *And among the people of Moses there is a certain number who guide others with truth, and practise what is right according to it.* In books descriptive of the Ascent into Heaven (of Muḥammad) it is stated that the Prophet—upon whom be peace—when on his Night Journey, visited this city, and saw these people, addressing to them the salutation of Peace (as though they were Moslems). Then between him and them question and answer proceeded, as follows. He questioned: ‘I see among you that all your houses are of one height and plan and form, being without any excess of grandeur, so that none has superiority or rank above the others; what is therefore the cause of this?’ They answered: ‘The reason is that we are all of one descent, and were born of our parents solely for the intent that we might serve God Almighty, in whose service none of us has superiority, one over the other. And we are but passing through this great house of the world, wherefore it were but folly, during this our passage and journeying, to set our hearts on adorning what is but a post-house on the high-road.’ He enquired: ‘Before the door of every house I perceive there is a tomb; why have you made this?’ They answered: ‘In order that we may not forget death, and in all our works may strive to acquire the garment of mercy for the grave.’ He asked: ‘Seeing that without taking proper care for

food and raiment, religious observance is neither permissible nor (except on occasion) even acceptable, whence comes your food and raiment that you have no anxiety therefor?' They answered: 'We are all like the women of a house dependent on the master thereof for provisions; the Master of our house is God most high, our daily bread is from His hands. We sow in the fields seed-corn and cotton and other crops, and God sends rain from heaven upon them; then we make harvest and carry away the crops which we store all in one place, and in accordance with his need each of us takes therefrom a sufficiency, and God most high giving us His blessing this suffices us until the next year.' He asked: 'What flesh for eating do you make use of?' They replied: 'We have sheep on our plains, also enough corn and other crops, the same being common to all of us: and most of us eat but little flesh of animals.' He enquired: 'Have you weights and measures among you [٢٧٠] that each may know how much he takes away?' They answered: 'Nay, for seeing that none takes more than that for which he has need, what use is it to measure the same?' He asked: 'Are there craftsmen here, or no?' They answered: 'All here are craftsmen, but none sell their wares for each only makes what the other has need of.' He asked: 'Is there any post for judge or governor here, who when a dispute arises among you may give judgement?' They replied: 'Since we are all children of God, and He gives to each what is necessary to him, how can any dispute arise between us that should need the giving of judgement for which we must go before judge or governor?' He asked: 'Since there be neither judge nor governor, if a fine for a crime were imposed on one of you, how would it be enforced?' They replied: 'Although up to the present time we have not received the light of the religion of Islam, yet the grace of God has hitherto barred the way for us against the evil suggestion of Satan: and without the suggestion of Satan disobedience does not come to any of the sons of Adam. Now, however, that we are prepared to receive the light of the religion of Islam, we hope that our obedience may reach a higher degree than formerly, and no unrighteousness or sinfulness may come upon us.' He asked: 'Lives there any physician here?' They replied: 'By the command of God most high sickness does not exist here, only peaceful life: and when the death-sickness comes, of a truth the physician cannot make it pass, and where deadly illness is not, there is there no need for a physician.' He said: 'At this moment the sound of wailing reaches my ear, also the sound of rejoicing from another quarter, what then is the cause of this?' They replied: 'The rejoicing is for this reason, that one of us has departed in death, having the true faith: and the wailing is because a child is born, but we know not yet whether he will hold to the faith or not.' Then the Prophet—upon whom

be peace—seeing that in all matters they thus held by righteousness and the true faith, before taking his leave of them, offered up this most excellent prayer, saying : ‘ O God ! grant even to all of us pardon in respect of the excellence of these their works : and through obedience to Thee, and by Thy dominion and Thy angels, and Thy prophets, and through Thy mercy, O Most Merciful of the Merciful, keep us all from doing contrary to the like of these their doings.’

**The Two Pyramids.** These stand on the borders of Egypt in the Third Clime, and they are the most wonderful constructions in the whole world. In the *History of Maghrib* it is stated that they were built by the prophet Idrīs—upon whom be peace—(who is Enoch). Outside, on the stone covering of these Pyramids, there are figures visible, for the most part cut into the same, and this was done in order that when the world came to be devastated by the Flood, and by other such catastrophes, the former race of men having been overwhelmed, and the arts obliterated, [۱۷۱] then another people should arise to whom these figures and carvings should show forth the manner of those lost arts. Some, however, say that the Pyramids are Pharaonic buildings, being their burial places, and that they were thus firmly founded with the intent that the lapse of time should have no effect on the building, and that their bodies should never be exposed, but remain ever concealed. Others report that by reason of their great antiquity the builder of the Pyramids cannot be known, for the writing that is inscribed on the face of each is in a script that no one of our times can read ; wherefore the true account which might have been obtained from these words cannot to-day be known. Now as regards the date of their foundation, it is well known that in the mouth of the people is the saying : *The Pyramids were built, when the constellation of Aquila was in Cancer.* The explanation of which is as follows :—seeing that at the present day the constellation of Aquila is in the after part of Capricorn, and that for each Sign of the Zodiac no less than 2000 years must be reckoned to complete the cycle of precession, therefore, from the date of the foundation of the Pyramids to the present time, it would follow that more than 12,000 years must have passed : but true knowledge lies only with God most high. There are in all seven Pyramids, of which the largest is called the Pyramid Maydūm, and by Ibn Khurdābih, and in the *History of Maghrib* and elsewhere, the following dimensions are given of this same. The plan is 400 ells square for each side, rising from a base of 20 ells (square), which lies 30 ells down below the surface, and (the superstructure) is brought to a pyramidal form in such a fashion that each face thereof forms a triangle, the height likewise being 400 ells, with a square platform on the top measuring 20 ells by 20 ells. Thus the pyramidal

mass is four square below, but octagonal above; and all through this pyramid the stones are so exactly set one to the other that it appears to be but of one single block, without any joint. Inside is a chamber, very deep down, into which you may descend by a long rope. Here are the sepulchres of the dead Pharaohs, of whom some limbs and bones still remain intact, this preservation of bodies being one of the qualities of the soil of Egypt. The structure of the Pyramid is completely solid, except for this one chamber, for no other hollow space can be seen. The whole is built up of cut stone, each block, like its neighbour, being 25 ells by 25 ells with a depth of 3 ells, and the stone used is in colour red with black markings. After the same fashion also is built the square platform below, measuring 100 ells by 100 ells. It is asserted [ῚῚ] that the great Pyramid took 300 years to build, and the little Pyramid 70 years, the others having been completed in times proportionate to the above.

Yūnān (Greece). A very broad and extensive province, of the Fifth and Sixth Climes. It had of old an immense population, and many sages were of this country, who cultivated diverse sciences such as mathematics, divinity, logic, the arts and crafts, philosophy, divination, history, astronomy and astrology, medicine and other such like. The greatest city here was called Macedonia, and the quality of its air promoted brilliancy in genius, sharpness in intellect, strength of memory with excellent wit and learning. Alexander the Great, with all his might of conquest, was unable at first to overcome this country, because of the wisdom of the people. However, as the land lay in a hollow, he proceeded to cut a channel to it from the Sea of the Greeks and Franks, in order that these provinces might thus be drowned in the waters. This is the place known as the Cut of Alexander<sup>1</sup>. But many say that Alexander's Cut is in those parts of the Sea of the Greeks and Franks which occupy the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Climes, seeing that the Cut which Alexander made is by the tomb of Hercules, being in fact the Strait of Gibraltar which leads to the Circumambient Ocean. Those learned in astronomy however place but little reliance on this attribution, and assert the Cut of Alexander to be, as aforesaid, in the first account. It is also said that when a ship passes across and reaches the province of Macedonia, by some peculiarity of its air the passengers of the ship forthwith have brought back to their recollection all that they have ever thought of and done :—but God alone knows the truth in this matter.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 229.

## CHAPTER XXIV

Wonders and marvels. The Well of the Wind: the Well of Worms. Intermittent springs. Moving hillocks. Mount Dāmāvand pit. Tree at Bušām. Spring-water against Locusts. Pit of the Pigeons. Other intermittent springs. Hermaphrodites; and other monstrosities. Fidelity of a dog. Poisonous vapours. Intermittent springs and dropping wells. Aimless men. Medicinal springs. Twins coupled together. The mill of Jonah. Hot and cold springs. Other pigeon pits. Febrifuge water. Miraculous rain-stone of Ardabil. Poisonous tree and grass. The Bākū fires.

CONCLUSION. Describing the wonders of the land and sea throughout the habitable world. Now it will be found that some of the following accounts are of a nature that the mind cannot compass, but in view of the omnipotence of God most high, and there being (as it is said) no limit to His power, therefore to these things a full credence should be vouchsafed: and we have divided the same into two parts, namely a valedictory part, and fragmentary notes.

Valedictory: giving a description of the wonders met with in the land of Īrān, and we shall describe each according to its province.

In Khurāsān, Qūmis, Māzandarān and Quhistān. Qazvīnī reports that 5 leagues distant from Dāmghān there is a well that is named Bād-Khānī (House of Wind), and if any filthy matter be thrown into it, the wind blows and cold and rain forthwith come, but as soon as they cease throwing such things into it, the weather clears; and according as the filth thrown in be more or less, the wind is higher and the cold [صفا] is the more intense. This condition of things too is well known throughout all the country round. It is also said that between Ghaznayn and Jaypāl there is another well, where the same effects are to be noticed. Qazvīnī again reports that at the village of Siyāh Sang (Black Stone) in the Rūghad district of Māzandarān, there are found worms at the bottom of a certain spring; and those who fetch water should they trample under foot any part of one of these worms, the water that he has got in his bucket will turn fetid, as too the water got by all who come after him, but those who came before him their water remains sweet. Further it is reported that when in Māzandarān they have cut down and burnt a forest in order to get the land as fields for cultivation, then during the first year this land that has been burnt out, without being sown, will produce a crop of sweet water-melons.

It is reported that in the year 528 (1134) a woman in the province of Balkh gave birth to a child that was formed like half a human being, or rather from head to foot the child was in two halves. In another year a child was born with a body having two heads, four hands, and two feet. To the south-west of Dāmghān and 3 leagues distant, is a hot spring, and anyone who having the scab sits for a time therein gets rid of his ailment: further he who is afflicted with the colic may also obtain relief here. Qazvīnī again reports that at the village of Īlābistān, lying between Isfarāyīn and Jurjān, there is a cave from which water flows forth; then little by little and for no known reason it ceases to flow, and will remain thus cut off until the people of the country round, men and women, in their best clothes all assemble here, bringing instruments of music which they play in front of the entrance to the cavern, with dancing and singing. Then that same day the water begins to flow again. Qazvīnī and Yāqūt both describe a certain spring at Bāmiyān, and however much you may throw filthy matter into this it will always be thrown out again on to the ground round about it. Further, if any one should wish to throw a stone into the middle of this spring, if he stand on the brink his foot will slip and he will fall in [۲۷۹] and sink to the bottom.

In the neighbourhood of Herāt there are two hillocks, one beside the other; and one is called Īrān while the other is called Tūrān. If in any year an army is about to march from Tūrān (the Turks) against Īrān (the Persians), then a stone from the Tūrān hillock begins to slip and rolls down: and when it comes to strike against the Īrān hillock, it makes such a noise that all the inhabitants of those parts hear it. The celebrated Khwājah ʿImād-ad-Dīn of Khwāf narrates that, in a mountain near Herāt, is a pit from whence a strong wind ever blows; and it is so strong that if several *Mann*-weight of stones be thrown into the pit, these by the force of the wind are hurled back again. Hence it is that no one has ever come to the bottom of this pit. Qazvīnī states that on Mount Damāvand is a very deep pit: so deep that no one knows its depths: and by day a vapour rises therefrom, while by night fire is seen. If anything be thrown into it, the force of the vapour is such as to throw it forth again. The same author describes a spring called Farāvaz, and washing in its waters causes a quartan fever to abate. Then there is that spring called Arvand in Sīstān, where numerous reeds grow; and those portions of them which stand in the water are petrified, while the parts that rise above the water level are like any other reed.

At Bustām is the shrine of the Shaykh of Shaykhs Abū ʿAbd-Allāh Dāstānī and on his tomb stands a withered tree. Now when any one of the descendants of the Shaykh comes to be on the point of death, a branch of this tree breaks off. In certain

documents it is stated that this tree was originally the Staff of our Prophet—upon whom be peace,—and generation after generation it was inherited by his descendants, till it came to the Imām Ja‘far-aṣ-Ṣādiq. The Imām Ja‘far gave it to Bāyazīd of Bustām<sup>1</sup>, and Bāyazīd stated in his testament that 200 years after his day a certain Darvīsh would come out of Dāstān, and then this Staff should be given to him. Therefore when the Shaykh of Shaykhs Dāstānī made his appearance this Staff became his, and after his death, by the provisions of his will, it was planted in the earth of his grave, above his breast. The same forthwith became a tree, and put forth branches. During the incursion of the Ghuzz one of its branches was cut off, and the tree withered; but of those who had thus cut off its branch most of them perished that same day; [۱۸.] and from that time onwards the tree has always had the terrible property aforesaid inherent in it (killing all who cut it).

In Persian ‘Iraq, Kurdistān, Luristān and Jīlān. Qazvīnī reports that there is a well in the neighbourhood of Nihāvand, in the Hamadān province, which has the same peculiarity in the matter of the worms found in its waters as has been described above concerning the well of Siyāh Sang in Rūghad. At Sumayram in Luristān there is a spring, and should locusts appear in any neighbouring land they send two men, who must neither of them have drunk wine or committed fornication, to fetch water from this spring and carry it to the land to which the locusts have come; and this water must never be set down on the way. Thereupon birds that are like starlings appear and follow that water, and they soon make an end of the locusts. This matter is famous throughout all that land, for it is related that King Solomon made a pact with the locusts that they should do no more damage, and he took this spring to be a witness in the same, also he commanded the starlings that if ever again the locusts did damage, it would be the part of the starlings to make an end of them. Hence it is that the spring has this property. In the Ṭālish districts there is a spring, whose water, when it has run a certain distance, petrifies, and in winter time it does no harm to drink of this. At the village of ‘Abd Allah Ābād, in the Kharraqān district of Hamadān, there is a spring the waters of which are thrown up to the height of a fathom, and any thing that is thrown into it is tossed back again. In the neighbourhood of Janbadhaq there is a pit in which live many pigeons. No one has found the bottom of the pit, though they have gone down into it for more than 500 ells, for by reason of the excessive cold they have been unable to go further. The common folk say that king Kay Khusraw hid his World-Displaying Cup in this pit.

Qazvīnī states that in the mountain of Nihāvand of the

<sup>1</sup> As matter of fact Imām Ja‘far-aṣ-Ṣādiq died in 148 (765) and Shaykh Bāyazīd in 263 (875), so they could hardly have met.

Hamadān province there is a cleft ; and whenever the people of those parts lack water for their fields or mill streams they have but to go to that cleft and make their demand for water with a loud shouting, and thereupon water flows forth from the cleft. Then when what is needed for their wants has come forth, they go back and call that there has been [رأى] water enough, whereupon the water ceases to flow. Further the same authority states that a similar source exists in the Ray district and in Rustamdār. In Qazvīn is the spring called Ardbīhishtak. People go to this in the melon season, and drink of its water as it flows, which acts as a purge. But if the water be carried away to some other place, it no longer possesses purgative properties. In the *Šuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is reported that in the Qazvīn district at the village of Nāshqīn clothes and other stuffs take no colour (when dyed), while in the village of Arasht iron exposed does not take rust, and in the village of Kanjiyān no dew falls ; all which peculiarities may be noticed within the space of a league.

At a village in the Qūlanjān district, near Qūmishah, during the reign of Uljaytū Sultān a girl noticed a swelling beginning to form on her belly, and after some days she had pains in her lower parts. Then an opening came and the male organs appeared, and the girl became a man. In the *Jāmi'-al-Hikāyat* further it is related that in Baghdād a man of the name of Muḥammad had a daughter, and on her marriage night when her husband entered in unto her, by the force of his act there appeared in her a man's members, and lo ! she had become a boy. Then he (who had been a girl) took a wife, and children were born to him. In the district of Qazvīn at the village of Bayqān there is a morass, that is some thousand ells round, where reeds grow. Often the roots of the reeds will cleave together, and with the soil round them will get detached from the bottom of the morass, and float about like a boat on the surface of the water, whereby boys who get upon them may make their sport therein. Thus every year some five or six thousand dīnārs accrue to the owner of this village from the crop of reeds here. In mount Alvand near Hamadān there were many great snakes which did hurt to the people round and about, so in times gone by they made a deep wide pit in which, by a talisman, they imprisoned the snakes. To this day it is full of snakes, and every other snake that comes into those parts perforce goes and throws himself into this pit, and cannot get out of it again. In the *Zubdah-at-Tawārīkh* it is related that at Mān-Rūd in Little Lur there is a kind of snake that has a second head also on his tail, and near each head are seen two arms. In the very year (when this book was written) in the district of Qazvīn a woman gave birth to a daughter, the lower half of whose body was like that of any other girl-child, but above and from her navel upwards there were two bodies,



having four arms and two heads. Now both these bodies were endowed with motion, and the upper portion of one body lived for about a month after the other part had died, and these children survived in all for some five or six months. The author of the *History of Maghrib* relates that in the year 522 (1128) he came to Abhar, and the Qādī Abū-l-Bashar al-Asadī told him that at the hill of Rustam Kūh, near Abhar, there was a wonderful cave. For in this cave there was a hole in the roof, from which bundles of slender twigs appeared bound together with rope; if now a bundle were seized and taken away, another immediately made its appearance, but otherwise it would remain and keep its place.

In this very year (as we write), in the market of Qazvīn, a man who was a stranger died in the night. He had a dog, and this [ṭṭ] dog threw himself on the ground beside his master's body; but when it was taken away to the burial ground and committed to the grave, the dog followed after. Then the dog went back to the place where his master had died, and there began to beat himself against the ground so that he killed himself. Of these facts all the people of the market were witness, and one and all attest the fidelity shown by that dog. There is in the Rūdbār mountain some three leagues distant from Qazvīn a spring that is called Ankūl. During the last days of summer the water here is still frozen to ice, and as the weather becomes cooler the ice becomes less thick. When ice fails in the city of Qazvīn they bring it down from here. During the reign of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd I saw a man in Sulṭāniyyah who had a short beard, but all the upper part of his body was covered with long hair like a bear. Except for the beard there was no other hair on the face. His speech was quite understandable, and he was wont to beg alms.

In Fārs, Kirmān and Shabānkārah.

Qazvīnī reports that at Hindiyān in Fārs there is a pit lying in a valley between two hills, and from it a vapour arises of so poisonous a nature that any bird who passes over the mouth of this pit falls dead from these emanations. The same author further says that in Shabānkārah there is a spring called Rūd-Khārah from which sufficient water to turn two or three mills pours forth. This flows during thirty years; then for thirty years it ceases to flow; and no water comes forth [ṭṭ] until another thirty years be past, when it again begins to flow; and so it goes on unceasingly. In the same work it is stated that at the village of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān there is a well some two fathoms in depth, and whenever water is needed, whether it be for field-irrigation, or to turn their mills, the people will go thither and cry out for water. Then as much water as is needful for their purposes comes forth, but as soon as their necessities have been served, the well goes dry again. Then there is the Šāhik well at Arrajān in Fārs, the bottom of which can never be reached; and so much water as

is necessary for the needs of the people this well likewise gives forth. <sup>6</sup>

In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is stated that in Ardashīr Khūrah there is a well of which, if anyone drink, he will be purged; and if any be libidinous, the drinking of that water will have on him an excellent effect. In the same work it is reported that at the village called Dīh Murjān there is a cave from the roof of which water drips down. If a single person should enter, the water is only just sufficient for his need, but if more enter, howsoever many they be, still the water will always suffice for them all. It is said this is from a talisman. In the same work it is said that in Dasht Bārīn, at a mountain, there is a source called the Spring of Nūḥ (Noah). Its water is an excellent prophylactic against disease, and for dissipating all humours; so that they carry much of this water into all the countries round.

In Arabian <sup>7</sup>Irāq and Khūzistān.

Qazvīnī states that between Ahwāz and Baṣrah there is a river, and at certain times a building like a tower appears in the river and the sound as of trumpets and drums is given forth from this tower. In the same work, and on the authority of Sinān ibn Thābit-al-Harrānī, it is reported that he saw a woman who had no arms at all, and whatever work is ordinarily done by the hands, she did with her feet. I too myself saw a man at Ḥillah who worked as a tailor with his feet, and in the time of Ghāzān Khān there was a man like this who lived at Tabriz, and he was wont to dance on a tightrope in the New Maydān in that city. At Baghdād, on the Tigris bank below the Dār-ash-Shāfi'īyah<sup>1</sup>, there is a piece of ground some hundred ells in length, where clothes that are washed immediately become perfectly clean, while [۱۲۴] at all other places on the Tigris bank such perfect cleansing as is here found cannot be effected.

In Diyār Bakr and Armenia.

Qazvīnī relates that in Armenia there is a spring called Zarāvand, and if anyone suffering from boils or ulcers bathes in its waters these disappear from his body. Also if he drink of this water any evil humours that may be in his body are expelled. People from all the country round come to this place, and many regain their health. The same author reports that in Armenia in the meadow called Yāsī Chaman, there is a spring where the water gushes forth with such violence that the sound made by it can be heard at a great distance away: any animal that falls into it forthwith perishes; and its waters when drunk are violently purgative. According to the *Jāmi'-al-Hikāyat* the author of the *Daylamite History* reports that some gifts were brought for presentation to Nāṣir-ad-Dawlah from Armenia, and with these were two men who were joined together back to back. They

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 40.

were some 25 years of age, and in matters of eating and drinking, sleeping and waking, each might do differently from the other. The story of Hāshim and ʿAbd-ash-Shams, the two sons of ʿAbd-Manāf the grandfather of the Prophet, may be cited in confirmation of the above, for they too were born coupled together after this fashion, and their father cut them apart with a sword. The same authority states that in the city of Nashawā (Nakhchivān) there is a mill which the water continuously turns, and there is never any need to stop it for repairs. Whenever a charge has to be put into the mill, or the same removed, he who does this has but to say: 'By the truth of Jonah the prophet: Stop!' and it will immediately cease to turn, and the water runs off till the charging is effected. Then that person says,—'By the truth of Jonah: Back to thy former state!' and forthwith the mill resumes its work.

In Rūm (Asia Minor) and Gurjistān (Georgia).

Qazvinī reports that at Malatīyah in Rūm there is a spring the waters of which after they have flowed some distance petrify, and in winter no harm results from drinking the water. The same author also states that between Āq Shahr and Antākīyah (Antioch of Pisidia) there is a spring which [۱۸۰] no sooner does it run dry than the neighbouring city forthwith catches fire. Sultān ʿAlā-ad-Dīn Kay Khusraw the Saljūq made trial of this, and found that it was so.

In Ādharbāyjān, Mūghān, Arrān and Shīrvān.

Qazvinī relates that at the village of Shīrgīrān near Marāghah there are two springs lying side by side, one pouring forth very hot water, the other water that is extremely cold; and hence it is impossible to keep the hands in both springs at once. The same author states that in this province also there is a spring called Washalah, and whosoever drinks of its waters vomits up all victuals that he may have in his belly. The same author further states<sup>1</sup> that in the plain of the villages of Janbadhaq near Marāghah there is a pit where numerous pigeons are found, and they spread a net over the mouth of the pit and thus catch the pigeons. The pit is more than 500 ells in depth, and one may go down into it and come to the light again. In this same district there are wells where no water is reached before a depth of 50 ells. In Alexandria also there is a pit where they catch many pigeons after the like fashion. Qazvinī also reports that near Khoi there is a spring named Qūṭūr, the water of which when mixed with honey is taken against fevers. The remarkable thing is that honey usually brings on fever, but mixed with this water it serves to cure it. In the same work it is said that in another part of this province is a spring, the water of which coming forth immediately petrifies, and this to such a degree that if it be allowed to flow into a brick-mould, stone bricks are

<sup>1</sup> Already given above, p. 273.

formed by it. The author of the *History of Maghrib* states that in the year 522 (1128) he came to Ardabīl and saw there a stone of the weight of 200 *Manns*, exactly like an iron ball. The Qādī Bahā-ad-Dīn Saʿīd of Ardabīl told him, that when the town folk wanted rain, they brought this ball into the city of Ardabīl, whereupon rain fell: but no sooner was it carried forth again from the town, than the rain would cease. The writer of this present work may add, however, that many times he also has seen this stone at Ardabīl lying before the door of the Mosque, but that on these occasions no rain ever fell. Further, it is the firm belief of the people of Ardabīl that this stone, without being touched by mortal hand, moves from one door to another door of the Mosque. [رأى] I myself, however, always found it in one condition and in one place. Further, although its appearance is that of a stone, it undoubtedly is of iron, for it has been molten and worked in the furnace by heat, as is shown by the slag upon it. Further the surface is not intractable to the graving-tool, for there has been some writing engraved on it, and had it been a stone the engraving of it after this wise had not been possible<sup>1</sup>.

At the foot of mount Sablān is found a tree round and about which much grass grows; but no beast or bird dare either taste of the fruit of the tree, or touch the grass: for to eat of either is to die; hence it is believed that for sure this is the dwelling place of demons. In the province of Bākūyah (Bākū), according to the same authority the ground is hot with fire: so much so that both bread and meat can be cooked by being laid on the same. This fire is not extinguished by rain, but rather burns fiercer. I myself have seen this; and a further wonder is this, that in those parts lies a meadow in which if anyone should dig a little ditch, fire will burst forth in a flame through the cutting. The same authority states, that over against this district there is a mountain in which is a fissure, from which a stream flows forth. In this stream pieces of copper are found of the weight of one or two scruples; and these are exported to foreign countries. In the early part of the reign of Abū Saʿīd I saw in the province of Arrān a calf which had four eyes, two like those of a man, and two like those of a cow. In the plain round the village called Dih-Bār of the district of Tabrīz is a spring, and any one drinking of its waters finds himself well purged: hence the people there at their need often come and drink therefrom.

<sup>1</sup> Something apparently is wanting here in the text, which is corrupt, and the translation is only tentative.

## CHAPTER XXV

Marvels by Land in Foreign Countries. The Bridge of Vomiting. The Laughing-stone of Tibet. The Poison-Hill. The Double-headed Horse. The Brazen Horseman in Andalusia. The Scorpion-water of Antioch. The Padlocked Chamber in Toledo; and king Roderic. The Lebanon Fruit. The Iron Horse and the Sabbatical River. Shell-fish curing Leprosy. The Ox Spring at Acre, and the Spring at Zoar. The Granada Olive Tree. The Seven Intermittent Springs near Tiberias. The Qiblah at Jerusalem. The Church of the Raven in Spain. The Sphinx. The Column at Heliopolis. The Seven Talismans of Nimrod. Mount Etna. Giant Bones in Bulghai. Fountains in India. The Eagle's Spring. Wonders by Sea

Fragmentary notes: describing the wonders to be found in other parts of the inhabited world, both by land and by sea.

Of those by land, namely on dry ground, we shall mention according to each province the account of its marvels.

In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm*, and also by Qazvīnī, it is reported that in the Samarqand mountains is a spring that in summer-time has its water covered with ice, while in winter you may cook an egg therein (so hot it is). Qazvīnī also says that in the province of Farghānah, in the mountain of Asbarah, there is found a stone in the shape of fingers [ṣāṣ] which can be burnt. This they use in place of charcoal; and its ashes are employed for soap. In the same author it is stated that in Turkistān there is a mountain known as the Fire Mountain. In this mountain is a cave, and one who should go into it forthwith dies; and there is also another cave where if any creeping or flying, or running creature should even pass before its mouth, forthwith that creature dies. The same authority relates that in the Makrān province there is a river over which is built a bridge. Anyone who crosses by that bridge forthwith vomits up all the victuals in his belly; hence when the people here have need of an emetic they pass across this same bridge. Further it is said, that in the district of Shāsh (Tashkend) there is on the summit of a certain pass a spring; whenever the weather is clear and cloudless no drop of water is to be found therein: but when the sky gets to be overcast the basin of the spring becomes full of water. According to the same author it is said, that in the country of Tibet there is a stone of fine colour, and transparent; now every foreigner who looks at this stone falls to laughter against his will, and laughs so much that he dies. On the natives of the land, however, this stone has no effect.

The work of Jayhānī may be quoted, who states that in the Khotān province there is a mountain, which is called Kūh Samm (Poison Hill), and it is for this reason. There is here a valley, through which the usual high road from China to Tibet passes, and in that valley the high road is clearly marked out, and many images have been set up here on either side. Should anyone who passes by that high road wander [ؠؠؠ] away from the straight line, his breath is caught by the vapours arising from the ground here round about, and he perishes therefrom. In the same work also it is reported that the king of Sanjāb sent to Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr, the Samanid Amīr, a horse which had two heads, and two legs, and two wings with which it could fly. In the *Jāmiʿ-al-Hikāyat* it is related that the author had seen a woman whose face and body were all covered with hair like a bear, and she had no teeth in the lower jaw, hence her speech could not be understood. It was said that a bear had had connection with her mother, and thus she had come to be born in this condition. The same authority and also the writer of the *History of Maghrib* report that in Andalusia, at the frontier of a desert place known as the Valley of Ants, a talisman has been set, the same being a man and horse made of brass, which face towards the desert. Anyone about to pass him is warned by a sign from this figure of brass, and should then desist from so doing; and if such a one pays no attention to the sign, but goes forward and passes by the figure, then in that desert there are ants, each of the size of a dog, who will kill any man who comes among them; but these ants are stopped by the brazen figure from passing over to this side of the limit.

Ibn Khurdādbih describes how in the country of the people of ʿĀd there is a talisman on a tower of brass, whereon also stands a brazen horseman. When the Sacred Months (of the Pilgrimage) come round, living water flows out from this tower, and the people of these parts make a provision of so much of this water as will last them for the remainder of the year, and until the same season comes round again. In the *Diary* of Malik Shāh it is stated that in the district of Artāḥ near Antioch there is a spring, and when they sprinkle the water from this on any place where there are scorpions, every one of those scorpions must come out of his hole and collect round this water, whereby people may easily destroy them, and so be free of their annoyance. In the same work it is stated that in the city of Antioch they are wont to build houses with gardens upon their roofs, where they grow orange trees and lemons and the like; which same gardens they water after the usual fashion, while in the house they make fire and (of the water and fire) neither affects the other harmfully. Ibn Khurdādbih describes how in the palace of the king of the Visigoths (at Toledo) there was a chamber padlocked. [ؠؠؠ] None of the kings would ever dare to open this room; nay more, each

had added another padlock thereto, until there were twenty-four padlocks in all. At length came Roderic who was to be the last of the kings, and he had insisted on opening those locks, and fain would know what was inside the chamber, in spite of all that the bishops and priests could plead to the contrary, forbidding this that he would do. So he broke open the door, and within saw many figures in the likeness of the Arabs, some riding camels, some horses, and carrying arrows. Then it came to pass that in this same year the Moslems crossed from the Arab lands and conquered all that country.

Qazvīnī reports that near Hims in Syria there is a chain of mountains, known as the Lebanon. Here all kind of fruit-trees grow, of their own accord, and without any to cultivate them they produce good fruit. This fruit, however, in the place itself has no flavour or taste, but when it is carried across the Snow River, which is in those parts, it forthwith acquires both flavour and taste. The same author relates that in the mountain called Wāsiṭ in Andalusia there is a cavern whence a tunnel leads out, and here there stands a horseman of iron. If the hand of a human being touch this horseman he disappears, but as soon as the hand is withdrawn he reappears again. If now one should persist in the touching of the figure a fire bursts forth from the tunnel, and cannot be extinguished until much vinegar has been thrown upon it. The same authority states that also in Andalusia there is a river called Nahr-as-Sabt (the Sabbatical River), because it was only possible to cross it on a Saturday. On its bank the figure of a man in brass had been set up, and on his breast was written *Cross not here; else it will be impossible to return*. Qazvīnī and the author of the *History of Maghrib* relate that at Alexandria there is a spring wherein certain shell-fish are found. At a particular time, when they are in season, if the shell-fish from this spring be taken and cooked, then those who suffer from leprosy having eaten of them with their broth, they get relief from this malady. The same authority records that at Acre in Syria is a source known as the Ox-Spring, because the ox which God Almighty gave to Adam, wherewith he might plough the land, came forth from this [١٩٠] spring. To this day the fountain is a place of visitation, and there is a shrine here dedicated to 'Alī the Commander of the Faithful. If the water from this spring be used to irrigate fields that are sown but do not yet sprout, the sprouts forthwith come up, grow well and produce a good crop. The same authority states that in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is a spring called Zughar (Zoar), and named after one of the daughters of the prophet Lot. For she who bore this name came to die here; and it is also reported that in the end of time this spring will go dry, which same will be a true sign of the coming of the Day of Resurrection. In the same work

it is stated that at Qātūn<sup>1</sup> in Egypt there is a spring which throws up water, and drops from this which fall on the ground become fire.

Qazvīnī relates that in the plain of Granāda, which lies in Andalusia, there is a church before which stands an olive tree: also a spring gushes forth here, but only during one day in each year. This spring waters the tree and that same day too the tree bears fruit, producing olives. These olives suffice for the people of this church during the whole of the year; and they will carry away some of this water as a medicament; also on no other day of the year but this one day does the spring flow. In the same work it is stated that on a mountain in Andalusia there are two springs side by side, there being not more than three ells space between them, and one pours forth water so hot that meat can be boiled therein, while the other has water so cold that it turns to ice. The same author further states that there is in Egypt a mountain called Kūh-i-Ṭāhir, where a spring of sweet water comes forth, and is collected in a tank from which on all sides it runs away. But if any unclean man, or a menstruous woman, comes to the side of this tank the water suddenly stops, and until he or she goes away the water in the tank does not flow off nor does it flow in from the spring. Further Qazvīnī reports that at the village of Minyah Hishām, near Tiberias in Syria, there are seven springs, and the water here for seven successive years flows forth, and then for seven other years ceases to come, and this state of things never changes. Ibn Khurdādbih recounts [۲۹۱] that in the Qiblah (or Mecca-niche of the Mosque) at Jerusalem there is a white stone, on which, but inscribed by no mortal hand, is read the inscription:—*In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful; there is no God but God, Muḥammad is His prophet, and Hamzah was his helper.* Also on another stone is inscribed:—*Alī is the vice-gerent of God.*

In the *History of Maghrib* and in Banākitī it is reported that on the peninsula of the Majma<sup>c</sup>-al-Baḥrayn (Confluence of the Two Seas in Spain) there is a column of white stone a hundred ells in height, which shines by night. On the top of the column stands the figure of a man, and beyond it there is no road anywhere. They have built a magnificent church beside this column, and it has a great dome covering it, on the summit of which a raven is ever perched, and for this reason it has been named the Church of the Raven. Now whenever guests are about to arrive at this place, the raven by his croaking announces the number of the same, whereby the people of the church know what to prepare of provisions for their entertainment. No one is able to explain the true cause of this, but praise be to God

<sup>1</sup> Probably we should read Nāṭīl. Our author has here completely misunderstood the text of Qazvīnī.



most high, for it is one of His wondrous works. In the *History of Maghrib* it is stated that on the western border of Egypt the moving-sands were very troublesome, and in past times for a talisman they carved a human figure (of the Sphinx) in marble, of very awesome aspect, and by a spell laid on this they prevented the moving-sands from over passing the figure, and doing hurt to the cultivated lands. This figure (of the Sphinx) from its awesomeness they called Abū-l-Hawl (the Father of Terror). By the same authority it is described how at the city of 'Ayn Shams (Heliopolis) in Egypt a company of the Jinn (Demons) made, by command of king Solomon, a square column of red marble flecked with black spots, of a height of more than one hundred ells. On its summit were set three figures of men, made in brass, of which the midmost figure was the tallest, the two on either hand being smaller. From below these figures water oozes forth from the column and flows down, being caught in a tank. Further in this district there are neither underground water-courses, nor streams of any sort, and all their water is from wells. Ibn Khurdādbih, however, states that the water from this column never reaches the ground, but only comes down as far as the middle point, beyond which it does not pass, being stopped here: and he adds that this column is the work of king Hūshang. By the same authority it is reported [۲۹۲] that at Ascalon is a shrine called Mashhad-i-Ṭāhir, in which there are always visible the traces of fresh blood on the ground, for it is said that it was here that Cain slew Abel, and this same is his blood which may still be seen.

In the *Ṣuwar-al-Aqālīm* it is reported that in the Jifār district, which belongs to Egypt, there were many most productive villages that were the pleasure grounds of Pharaoh. But by reason of their iniquity God Almighty became wroth, and their grounds brought forth serpents, each a span long, and from the presence of these serpents this rich land forthwith passed to being a desert and uncultivated. This fact is alluded to in the Qurān (ch. VII. v. 133) where it is said: *We destroyed the works of Pharaoh and the structures of his people*: wherefore from that time till now this country is known as 'Arīsh (the Structure). In the *Jāmi'-al-Hikāyat* it is reported that a woman in Jerusalem in times past gave birth to a child whose hands were like those of a human being, but its feet were as those of a calf, and its face was like that of no living creature. In the *Jāmi'-al-Hikāyat* also it is said that certain Sages in the time of Nimrod made for him seven talismans in seven cities;—these accounts, however, are difficult of credence. In one place there was the image of a duck, and when any stranger entered that city the duck would quack, whereby they forthwith investigated into the condition of that stranger. In the second city there was a drum, and if anyone

lost anything, he struck the drum with his hand, and a voice came forth indicating the thief. In the third city was a mirror, and anyone who had a well-beloved friend on a journey could, on a certain day of the year, if he had no news of him, by looking into the mirror see his friend, no matter where he was, or what he was doing. In the fourth city there was a tank, and Nimrod on a certain day in the year would give a banquet beside the same; then for every guest would be poured into this tank the diverse drinks required, whether it were wine, or rose water, or sherbet, or vinegar or the like, and although these were all thus mixed together, yet the cupbearer would serve to each guest from the tank the drink that had been poured in for him. In the fifth city was a great basin of water, beside which, when there was litigation, the judge would sit, and cause them to bring thither both plaintiff and defendant, commanding them to cross over that water. Then he who spoke the truth would be able to cross, but he who lied would be drowned. In the sixth city there was a tank, and all around it were the representations of the various countries that were under the government of Nimrod. Then if any of their towns were in revolt against Nimrod, [۲۹۷] and the representation thereof were touched by a wand taken from the tank, within the year that town would be inundated. In the seventh city there was a tree that stood before the gate of the palace of Nimrod, and no matter how many men sought its shade, that number of men were shaded by it. Now with regard to all these blessings, seeing that Nimrod would not accept the truth, nor show gratitude for the same, nor give worship to the true God, and that he called Abraham a liar, attempting to throw him into the fire, and afterwards expelling him from the kingdom—therefore God Almighty in His just anger took back all His benefits, and slew Nimrod with a swarm of gnats, that thus he might become a warning example to the people of the earth.

By the same authority it is reported that in Little Armenia there is a Fire-temple, the roof of which is plastered over with cement, and below the gutter from the roof is a tank in which the water is collected that falls on the roof. The people are wont to drink of this, and if but little rain should fall, then with some of the water that is left they wash the roof of this Fire-temple, and forthwith rain again falls, and so the tank is refilled. Ibn Khurdādbih states that near Rūmīyah (New Rome or Constantinople) in the Frank country there is a tree on which are diverse birds like starlings, made of brass. Now when the season for olives is come they set those brazen birds a-whistling, and the wild starlings imagining that these are captive birds bring to them each three olive berries, two in the claws and one in the beak, and laying them down before the brass birds, so leave them. This trick being thus carried out many olives are collected, and

the guardians of this tree get a sufficiency to serve their wants and needs for the space of a whole year, and yet in that country for a distance of twenty leagues round there are no olive trees. Qazvīnī says that the writer of the *History of Sicily* states that in that kingdom is a mountain of very great height, so that its summit is never free from snow, and here there is a mine for sulphur. By day vapour is seen to rise from here, and by night fire is visible, and thus the summit of this mountain is never at any time free from both fire and snow. In the *History of Maghrib* it is further stated that in Sicily there is a mountain which is called Jabal-an-Nār (the Mountain of Fire, Etna). Smoke by day and by night flames are visible issuing from its summit, and the light therefrom shines for ten leagues round, so that the people of these districts are able to do work by night [۱۹۴] from its illumination. At times great blocks of stone are hurled forth by this mountain into the air. Such stones as fall on any beast will burn it up, and such as fall into water the fire in the stone is not thereby extinguished and its burning is in no wise diminished by the water. Trees, however, and plants take no hurt therefrom, and it is only animals that are burnt.

Qazvīnī states that in the Baḥr-i-Khazar (the Caspian) there is an island where there are snakes in such countless numbers that the ground is covered by them. And they lie one on the other so that birds lay their eggs on the top of them, and hatch their chicks, and the snakes are unable to do any hurt to either the eggs or the young ones of the birds. Further any man who comes to carry away the eggs, or chicks, or the birds, to him likewise the snakes can do no hurt. The same authority reports that on the further side of Darband there is a spring gushing forth between two trees that is called 'Ayn-ath-Thawāb (the Spring of Recompense). On the eve of each Friday people go thither, and at a certain time of night a light shines forth from that spring like the light of the sun. In the same work it is stated that in Bulghār bones like those of the (giant) people of 'Ād are found. The top of the skull of one of these was like a cupola for size, and the teeth were a span across and four spans in length; and for hardness, these bones were better than ivory. The same author further states that he saw a man in Bulghār who must have been of the race of the (giant) people of 'Ād. His height was over seven ells, and his strength and his limbs were in proportion. The Lord of Bulghār had made him the chief of his soldiers, and had had made for him arms suitable to his size, and his strength was equal to that of a thousand men.

Ibn Khurdādbih reports that near by the Baḥr-i-Khazar (the Caspian) is found an extensive country, where it always rains. For this reason it is that the people there can get no opportunity to winnow their corn out of doors: hence they bring it in, in the

ear, and winnow it at their leisure as needed. It would appear that this country must be Gīlān, for there it is most times raining, as above described. The same author says that near Ṣan'ā in Yaman is a place where a mighty fire bursts forth. Qazvīnī reports that in the province of Āsfār<sup>1</sup> there is a brook the water of [۱۹۰] which runs for one year, and stops running during eight years, then in the ninth year it again begins to run, and so on unceasingly. The same author states that the Imām (Shāfi'ī) reported having seen in Yaman a woman who bore a child, which lived and grew up. This was a girl and the lower half of her body up to below the chest was like in form to that of any other woman; but from the chest upwards she was made after the fashion of two women, having two heads, and two chests, and four arms. She could do all usual things, and had got herself a husband. By the same author it is said that in the Ṣan'ā province there is a mountain on which two kiosks stand, and these by night shine brightly like stars, but it is impossible for anyone to get up close to them, in order to see how this is, and ascertain what is their condition. Further they are said to have been built by the Jinn (Demons). Qazvīnī reports that in India they had made the images of two lions, and water came forth from their mouths, which same irrigated the lands of two villages. But the people of one village thinking to increase their own water supply, broke the mouth of the lion that was their neighbours' supply. The water from this source stopped flowing, but the water from their own fountain was not increased. And the people of the other village then went and in retaliation broke the mouth of the lion that was their neighbours', when the spring here likewise stopped flowing. Thus by senseless evil doing both villages came to ruin.

In the same author it is said that in India there is a spring called 'Ayn-al-'Uqāb (the Eagle's Spring), and for this reason that when an eagle becomes old and weak, he dips himself in this spring, and moulting his old feathers, gets new ones in their place, also renewing again the power of his youth. The same author reports that in Yaman, or else it may be in Andalusia, there is a mighty mountain called Shakrān, over the summit of which a wind is always blowing, so that it is impossible to get up to it. On the summit by day the figure of a peacock is seen, but by night the light of a fire; and no one can explain how this is. Ibn Khurdādbih states that a Rajah of India sent many presents of various kinds of jewels to the Caliph Mamūn, also a maiden of exquisite beauty and loveliness, who was seven ells in stature, but with all her limbs in just proportion, and at sight of her the heart was troubled beyond repose. The same author [۱۹۱] states that in Ṣan'ā of Yaman, and in the country round, during the months of June, July, August and part of September,

<sup>1</sup> Where this may be is uncertain.

which is the hottest season of the year, daily at mid-day rain falls, and no day passes without rain; hence it is the custom for people who have business with one another to say each to the other—'Hasten, before the rain comes.'—But true knowledge in all these matters lies with God Almighty alone.

Of Wonders by Sea. Now these exceed all reckoning and compute, so that none has knowledge to comprehend them all. Hence it is that they are wont to say—'They tell so and so of the Sea' in relating what is marvellous. Here, therefore, I shall relate only what I have found in the books of such of the learned as are worthy of credence, or have myself heard related by narrators who were to be depended on, and the responsibility is on the narrator. Qazvīnī says that in the Indian Sea there are creatures that come out of the water to pasture on the land, and from their mouths fire issues, which burns up the grass lands round and about. He further states that in the Caspian Sea there is an island on which a spring gushes out from the rock, and in the water of this spring pieces of copper are found of the weight of a scruple or half a scruple. By the same author it is reported that during the reign of the Caliph Wāthiq the Chief of Sarīr made a fishing excursion on the Caspian Sea in honour of Sallām the Interpreter<sup>1</sup>, who was here on his way to investigate the condition of the Wall of Gog and Magog. On this occasion they caught a large fish, inside the belly of which was found a mermaid of surpassing beauty, wearing neither smock nor drawers, but with a skin like that of a human being down to her knees. She began to beat her face and tear her hair, making great lamentations, and after a while she died. The writer of the *History of Maghrib* also vouches for the truth of this story. In the same work it is stated that in the Island of Qaysūr, which is in India, there is a place where there are certain fish; and as soon as these are taken away from the water they turn to hard stone and lose their animal nature. Ibn Khurdādbih reports that in India there is found a fish that is twenty ells in length. Inside this lives a second fish, and inside this again a third, and so to a fourth, each fish within the last. In the same work it is stated [۲۹۷] that in those seas lives a turtle that is twenty ells round. It gives milk, and from its tortoiseshell they make weapons of war, also they find inside it more than a thousand eggs. In the same work it is said that in the Red Sea lives a fish that is like a camelopard, and it gives milk. Of its skin they make armour, and bucklers, and javelins are unable to penetrate the same.

Qazvīnī relates that in the Indian Sea lives a crab, which as long as it is in the water has soft flesh, but as soon as it is taken therefrom it turns to stone and so loses its animal nature. Also the same authority states that in the island of Sicily, in the Western

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 236.

Sea, there is a sulphur spring. The sulphur here gives out light by night, all round and about, so that by its means the road may be well seen ; but if the sulphur be taken from here to any other place its quality of giving light ceases. This therefore shows that only as long as it is in quantity can it give forth light, and when it fails therein (being too little in amount) then it no longer shows forth its proper peculiarity. By the same authority it is stated that in the Island of Kalah Ham, in the Frank Sea, there are trees, which for fruit bear birds. At the time of budding the trees grow a little bag, in which the bird is found, and its beak pierces outside the bag when it gets to maturity, and then rips the same open, so that the bird comes out. For most of their meat and victuals the people of this country depend upon these birds. In the same work it is stated that in the Island of Abrīnā in the Frank Sea there is a spring and anything that is laid in this after a week becomes covered outside with stone. In the same island of that Sea, according to the authority aforesaid, there is a mountain from which fire flames forth, and extends to a height of two or three spear lengths. It never becomes extinguished, and it ceaselessly gives light : also at any time of general gathering and going forth its fire blazes out the more. But God Almighty alone knows the truth of this matter.

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